

DUR-ABI-EŠUH AND THE AFTERMATH OF THE ATTACK ON NIPPUR: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THREE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

BY
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The three texts published here, now kept in the Cotsen (Lloyd E.) Cuneiform Tablets Collection at UCLA,² are copies of letters sent to the King of Babylon Ammi-ditana by officials stationed at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal).³ They were written during the years *Ammi-ditana 12* (1672 BCE) and *Ammi-ditana 15* (1669 BCE), i.e. some time after the city of Nippur was attacked, in Month xi of the year *Ammi-ditana 11* (1673 BCE). These texts provide us with valuable information on military activities, the management of agricultural resources, and religious life in central Babylonia at a time when the kings in Babylon had lost control of several cities in the South, and were facing multiple enemies –especially the kings of the Sealand– in southern and central Babylonia.

These copies are also of importance for another reason: they are so far one of the few remnants of the letters sent to the kings who ruled over Babylon from 1880 BCE to 1595 BCE.⁴ The two palaces built in that capital city by King Sumu-la-El (1880-1845 BCE) and his successors were not found during the excavations of Old Babylonian levels in 1907-12, and these levels are now below the groundwater table. By chance, some fifteen letters sent to the king in Babylon reached us, for different reasons: because they were forwarded by the king to an official in another city,⁵ because they were never sent,⁶ or because they were copied by the sender(s) before being mailed.⁷ The letters published here belong to the last category.

1. Post-doc at the Collège de France for the French ANR project *EcritUr* led by D. Charpin. I am very grateful to the Cotsen (Lloyd E.) Cuneiform Tablets Collection at UCLA (Los Angeles), and particularly to Octavio Olvera, for welcoming me and giving me access to the material in this collection in November 20th-21st 2017 and from November 18th to December 2nd 2018. For their corrections and most valuable remarks, I thank D. Charpin as well as I. Arkhipov, P. Delnero, B. Fiette, A. George, A. Jacquet, F. Nebiolo, H. Reculeau, C. Schmidhuber, K. Van Lerberghe, and N. Ziegler. As always, the Archibab database was also of great help. Abbreviations follow the CAD (*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago* [1956-2010]) and the Archibab project.

2. Photographs of the letters edited here were published by Wilson, *Education in the Earliest Schools*, Los Angeles, 2008, p. 102-103. Photographs are also available online, on the CDLI website: <<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P273841>> (96212), <<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P273811>> (96213), and <<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P388255>> (96214); mine are on the Archibab website: <<http://www.archibab.fr/T23194>> (96212), <<http://www.archibab.fr/T23193>> (96213), and <<http://www.archibab.fr/T23195>> (96214).

3. For convenience, I used O. Boivin's standards here (SANER 20, Boston/Berlin, 2018): Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) refers to the fortress Dur-Abi-ešuh^{ki} ša zibbat iHammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši "Dur-Abiešuh-at-the-outlet-of-the-canal-Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši." On the fact that the tablets found during illicit excavations, and mainly published in CUSAS 8 and CUSAS 29 (as well as in several scattered journals), come from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) and not Dur-Abi-ešuh^(Tigris), see: Charpin, *RA* 98, 2015, p. 149-150.

4. For the number of letters sent by the kings of Babylon, see: Charpin, *CRRAI* 54, 2012, p. 23. As the latter has pointed out to me, to his list can now be added about 70 letters sent by King Ammi-ditana to Liṭib-libbašu ("king's barber"), of which 3 were published in Fadhil, *RA* 108, 2014. This epistolary corpus is the exact opposite to the corpus available for the kings of Mari: thousands of letters received by the latter have been found, but only a few letters sent by them are known today.

5. **AbB 2 147** (letter to King Hammu-rabi), **AbB 13 4** (Hammu-rabi), and **AbB 13 6** (Hammu-rabi). See: B. Fiette, *NABU* 2016/93.

6. **AbB 11 102** (Ammi-šaduqa), **ARM 5 14** (Hammu-rabi); **ARM 28 2** (Hammu-rabi), and **ARM 28 11-13** (Hammu-rabi).

7. **AbB 11 89** (Ammi-šaduqa), **W 20473** (Sin-muballit), **Letters 1-3** published here (Ammi-ditana), and maybe **AbB 6 190** (Ammi-šaduqa) and **AO 10790** (Sin-muballit) [their status as copies is uncertain].

The Cotsen Family Foundation gave its collection of cuneiform tablets to UCLA in 2011. The tablets in this collection had been acquired over several decades. They derive mainly from two former private collections acquired by the Cotsen Foundation in 2002. According to Wilson,⁸ these two former collections were assembled during the first half of the 20th c. The tablets from Dur-Abi-ešuh housed at Cornell University (Ithaca), in the Schøyen Collection (Oslo), in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), and in other private collections were all acquired in the late 1990s/early 2000s.⁹ But all these collections are the final owners: the date when these tablets were excavated and first purchased is unknown. It is subject to hypothesis.¹⁰

EDITION OF THE TEXTS

Letter 1 (Cotsen Collection 96213)

In this letter, written on the 15/i/A-d 12, the senders review the barley supplies that have been sent to Zibbat-narim to be given to the soldiers. Of the 54 000 liters of barley that have been sent, 29 010 have been given to the soldiers as rations for Month xii (Year A-d 11) and Month i (Year A-d 12). For a reason that is difficult to determine –the tablet is broken and squeezed–, there is not enough barley in Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) and Zibbat-narim for Month ii. The senders ask the king to determine where they can expect to receive barley.

- F. *a-na be-li-ni*
 2 *qí-bí-[ma]*
 um-ma IR.MEŠ-ka-[ma]
 4 URU^{ki} ù ERIN₂-um ša be-li-[ni ša-lim]
 ki-ma i-na pa-ni-[tim]
 6 *a-na be-li-ni ni-i[š-pu-ra-a]m*
 ^ri¹+na 60+60+60,0.0 ŠE GUR ša gi-mil-D[INGIR GÁ[?].DUB[?]].B[A][?]
 8 ^ra¹-na KUN.I₇.DA^{ki} ú-ša-^rbí¹-[lam-m]a
 ^r1,0.0¹ ŠE^r GUR¹ [a-na] ^rta¹-aš-bi-it ŠUKU ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅
 10 60+30+^r5¹,3.3 a-na ŠUKU ITI BÁR.ZÀ.GAR
 ^r120²+30+6¹,[3].^r3¹ ŠE GUR
 12 ^rša¹ in-na-ad-nu
 aš-šum 60+20+3,1.3^r ŠE GUR¹
 14 [š]a ^rša¹-ak-nu
 [š]a še-um a-na ŠUKU ERIN₂ š[a] ITI GU₄.SÍ.SÁ
 16 [ma-ah-r]i-ni la ^ri²-ba¹-a[š-š]u²-^rú¹
 [a-na be]-^rli¹-ni ^rni¹-[i]š-pu-ra-am-^rma¹
 18 [...] ^rú¹-ul ^rx-x¹-ab/du-^rx¹
 T. [ki-ma be-e]l-ni i-du-ú
 20 [i-na a-lim] ša wa-aš-ba-a-nu
 [še-am ú-ul] ^rú¹-ki-^rin¹
 R.22 [qé-ma-a]m ^re-le¹-nu-um ^rx¹ ma/ba ZÍ.^rKUM¹ ^rx¹ i-m[a-tú-ma]
 [t]a-hi-iq-tam ú-ul i-šu-^rú¹
 24 ù i-na a-lim e-le-nu-um še-im
 ša ip-qít-^rna-bi-um ŠU.I^rub²-lam¹-ma
 26 i+na KUN.I₇.DA^{ki} i+na ^rGUR₇¹ ŠE ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši-ma
 i-nu-ma še-am a-na¹ ŠUKU ERIN₂ ni-ha-aš-še-hu
 28 ha-ma-^ram-ma a-na¹ ŠUKU ERIN₂ na-da-nam
 ú¹-ul ni-le-i
 30 be-el-ni li-iq-bi
 ^re¹-ma be-e[l-ni] ú-ka-an-nu-ma
 32 še-um a-na ŠUKU ERIN₂ ša ITI GU₄.SÍ.SÁ
 in-na-ad-di-nu
 34 be-el-ni li¹-ki-in-ma

8. Wilson, *Education in the Earliest Schools*, Los Angeles, 2008, p. x.

9. For a list of the tablets found at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), see: Charpin, “Un clergé en exil : le transfert des dieux de Nippur à Dur-Abi-ešuh” (forthcoming). Regarding the date of acquisition of these tablets by the different collections, see: Földi, “Cuneiform Tablets and the Antiquities Market: the Archives from Dūr-Abī-ešuh,” *DWJ* 2, 2017, p. 9-16.

10. Földi proposed that the tablets from Dur-Abi-ešuh were discovered in 1998 or slightly before (Földi, *DWJ* 2, 2017, p. 15).

li'-iš-pu-ra-an'-ni-a-ši-im

- 36 *me-eh-rum*
GÌR ðNÈ.ERİ₁₁.GAL-ni-šu ŠÀ ERIN₂ MAŠ.K[ÁN.ŠABRA^{ki}]
- 38 ITI BÁR.ZÀ.GAR U₄ 12[+3.KAM]
- T. MU *am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGA[L.E]
- 40 ALAM.A.NI MÁŠ GI₆.GA IN.N[E[?].DIB.ÀM]
- ʾù¹ ALAM.A.NI ʾGISKIM¹ ZÁH ŠU BÍ.[IN.DU₇.A]
- 42 KÁ É.NAM.TI.LA.ʾTA¹ IN.NE.[(EN.)KU₄.RA]

⁽¹⁻³⁾ To our lord speak: thus (say) your servants.

⁽⁴⁾ The city and the troops of [our] lord [are well].

⁽⁵⁻⁶⁾ As we previously wrote to our lord, ⁽⁷⁾ of the 180.0.0 gur (= 54 000 liters) of barley that Gimil-i[li the chief accounta]nt² had carried to Zibbat-narim:

⁽⁹⁾ 1.0.0 gur (= 300 liters) of barley: [to] complete the rations for the month Addarum (Month xii);

⁽¹⁰⁾ 95.3.3 gur (= 28 710 liters) of barley: for the rations for the month Nisannum (Month i);

⁽¹¹⁻¹²⁾ (subtotal:) 96.3.3 (156.3.3 in the text) gur that have been given (= 29 010 liters).

⁽¹³⁾ As for the (remaining) 83.1.3 gur (= 24 990 liters) of barley ⁽¹⁴⁾ [th]at have been stored: ⁽¹⁷⁾ we wrote [to] our lord ⁽¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁾ that there is no barley for the troops' rations for the month Ayyārum (Month ii) [wit]h us but ⁽¹⁸⁾ [...] did not [...]. ⁽¹⁹⁾ [As] our lord knows, ⁽²⁰⁾ [in the city] where we are stationed, ⁽²¹⁾ [he (our lord) did not] assign [barley]. ⁽²²⁾ [They are sh]ort on [flo]ur, except on [...] *isqūqum*-flour [...], [and] ⁽²³⁾ they do not have flour-based mixture (either). ⁽²⁴⁾ Also, ⁽²⁶⁾ there is no more barley ⁽²⁴⁻²⁵⁾ in the city, except for the barley that Ipqu-Nabium the barber brought, nor ⁽²⁶⁾ in Zibbat-narim, in the granary. And so, ⁽²⁷⁾ when we need barley for the troops' rations, ⁽²⁹⁾ we will not be able ⁽²⁸⁾ to give it quickly for the troops' rations! ⁽³⁰⁾ May our lord give orders! ⁽³¹⁾ Wherever [our] lord will assign that ⁽³²⁻³³⁾ the barley for the troops' rations for the month Ayyārum will be given, ⁽³⁴⁾ may our lord assign and ⁽³⁵⁾ write to us!

⁽³⁶⁾ Copy.

⁽³⁷⁾ Carrier: Nergal-nišu belonging to the troops from Mašk[an-šapir].

⁽³⁸⁾ Month Nisannum (= Month i). Day 15 (12[+3]).

⁽³⁹⁻⁴²⁾ The year King Ammi-ditana [brough]t to the gate of the temple Enamtila a statue of him [holding] a black lamb and a statue of him [holdi]ng an omen of disappearance (= A-d 12).

In all three text editions, the exclamation mark (!) indicates a sign that the scribe has simplified. The two exclamation marks (!!) indicate a careless mistake or an uncertain reading.

Several administrative accounts recording the provision of barley to be distributed to the troops at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) have been published, but none corresponds to Month xi/A-d 11, Month xii/A-d 11, Month i/A-d 12, or Month ii/A-d 12.

4) Unlike what we find in letters from the kingdom of Mari, the city is not named here. See the comment by Charpin (forthcoming), §2.1.

8 & 26) Zibbat-narim was a fortress located along the Euphrates, in the vicinity of Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) and Nippur. On this toponym, see the historical context section below.

11) The scribe made a mistake while copying the original letter to the king. The total should be 96.3.3 not 156.3.3. There are 60.0.0 extra gur: the scribe thus added an extra vertical wedge.

20 & 24) These lines reveal that Zibbat-narim and Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) were two different cities (see the historical context section below).

22) I thank N. Ziegler for suggesting the reading ZÌ.KUM and the verb *maṭūm*. This line, although incomplete, means that there was no more flour in Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), except for certain kinds of flour maybe too valuable to be given to soldiers.

22 & 24) I thank A. George for suggesting the reading *e-le-nu-um* to me. In line 24, the sign LI has the same form as the one in line 30.

23) The word *tahīqtum* (> *hiāqum* "to mix") was until now only attested in texts from Mari (ARM 12 622: 2 and ARM 21 101: 4). It is a flour-based mixture (ARM 12 622).

25) This Ipqu-Nabium could be the same as the one mentioned as witness in CUSAS 29 139: 13, a proof of payment from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) written under Ammi-ditana [25[?]/v/A-d -]. The title of Ipqu-Nabium is not specified in CUSAS 29 139, but he is referred to as the son of Awil-Šamaš. A barber named Ipqu-Nabium is also attested at Sippar during the reign of Ammi-ditana's son, King Ammi-šaduqa (Pecha, Gs. Hruška, 2011, p. 169-181).

26) This is the first mention of the granary (GUR₇ = *karûm*) of Zibbat-narim. On the granary of Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) and its management, see: Charpin, RA 112, 2018, p. 189-190.

37) In Letter 3, the carrier (GÌR) is a soldier from the Turukkean troops (ŠÀ ERIN₂ *tu-ru-kum*). A soldier named Nergal-nišu is attested in CUSAS 29 142: 4 [A-d 21], but the latter is described as a Gutian soldier. The first signs after ŠÀ

ERIN₂ in **Letter 1**: 37 are partially visible: the wedges do not match the sign GU, but they match the beginning of MAŠ.K[ÁN.ŠABRA^{ki}] (compare with CUSAS 29 142: 6). The soldiers from Maškan-šapir are attested in several texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (CUSAS 29 33: 4, 39: 5', 40: 3+4+5, 62: 8, 110: 2, 142: 6, 162: 1, 163: 1, and 174: 3).

39-42) The complete version of King Ammi-ditana's twelfth year name was not attested until now. Indeed, the reading of Johns was a restoration,¹¹ as noted by Horsnell.¹² The sequence GISKIM HA is attested in another document, YOS 13 490: 21'-23'. Pientka, who transliterated the year name, hesitated between two readings: GISKIM-HA "Vorzeichen" and Û-KU₆ "Schlaf" (Imgula 2/1, Münster, 1998, p. 63). Horsnell, who collated YOS 13 490, read: GISKIM HA (ibidem, p. 287 note 53). He understood it as a defective writing for HA-ZA and translated: "taking an omen (...)" (ibidem, p. 286 note 51). The signs GISKIM HA-A are clear in **Letter 1**. The sequence HA-A was read [sah] in Sumerian, and it has the sign value SAH₆ or ZÁH in modern syllabaries. This reading was associated, during the OB period, with the Akkadian words *nābutum* "fugitive" (MSL 14 89: 7:1 [Proto-Aa]), *narqūm* "to hide, to run away" (MSL 14 89: 7:2 [Proto-Aa]), *halāqum* "to be lost, be(come) fugitive" (MSL 14 89: 7:3 [Proto-Aa]), *rahāsum* "to trample, to destroy" (MSL 14 89: 7:4 [Proto-Aa]), and *šarāqum* "to steal" (UM 55-21-421: i 3' [OB Nippur Aa]). The verb *halāqum* is attested in apodotes of divinatory texts from the 2nd and 1st mill. BCE¹³. In several texts, it is associated with the king and his enemies. See in particular: CUSAS 18 13: §IX.14 ("Attack by the Gutian army; the people will perish [*i-ha-al-li-iq*]"), CUSAS 18 13: §XIII.16 ("The king of the land of Akkad will perish [*i-ha-li-iq*]"), CUSAS 18 17: 10'-12' ("A chief of the *habirum*-people who leads them will go missing [*i-ha-al-li-iq-ma*]"), AOAT 326 11: 62 ("The son of the king of the enemy land will get lost [ZÁH] and die"), AOAT 326 28: 53 ("Your enemy will break camp and perish [*i-hal-liq*]"), AOAT 326 29: 9 ("The son of the king of the enemy land will get lost [ZÁH-*qū*]") and AOAT 326 33: R.47 ("All of the land will perish [ZÁH.MEŠ]"). Thus, King Ammi-ditana's twelfth year name probably refers to a statue of him holding in his hands the liver of an animal whose shape had announced the defeat of his enemies. It could be the liver of the black lamb that the king is holding on the other statue mentioned in the same year name. Given the chosen wording, it was probably a fortuitous omen, not an oracular interrogation. The fact that the formula is written GISKIM HA in YOS 13 490 and GISKIM HA-A in **Letter 1** is problematic, because the sign HA alone was not associated with the verb *halāqum*. But this formula is a hapax in year names: the scribe who wrote YOS 13 490 maybe misunderstood the compound sign, and wrote HA instead of HA-A (ZÁH).

Letter 2 (Cotsen Collection 96212)

Thirty soldiers from Dur-šarrim and Yankahu have been appointed to Zibbat-narim to help with field work, but only ten arrived there. The senders ask the king to have someone pick up and escort to Zibbat-narim soldiers from these troops, now stationed at Babylon with their general.

The letter was written on the 11/v/A-d 12.

- F. *a-na be-li-ni*
 2 *qí-bí-ma*
 um-ma ÌR.MEŠ-ka-ma
 4 URU^{ki} ù ERIN₂-um š[a] *be-li'-ni ša-lim*
 i-nu-ma ERIN₂ a-na bi-ir-ti KUN.I₇.DA^{ki}
 6 *a-na wa-ša-bi-im b[e]-el-ni iṭ-ru-dam*
 15 ŠÀ ERIN₂ BÀ[D].LUGAL^{ki} NÌ.ŠU [*i*]-*na-pa-le'-šu*
 8 ù 15 ŠÀ ERIN₂ *ia-an-ka-h[u]^{ki} NÌ.ŠU mu-ti-wa-si*
 be-el-ni ú-ki-in
 10 *i-na-an-na ERIN₂ BÀD.LUGAL^{ki} ù ERIN₂ ia-an-ka-hu^{ki} šu-nu*
 i-na sa-da-ri-im še-eh-he-tam ir-ta'-šu-ma
 12 7 ŠÀ ERIN₂ BÀD.LUGAL^{ki}-ma ù 3 'ERIN₂¹ ŠÀ ERIN₂ '*ia-an-ka-hu^{ki}*
 ša ma-¹ah¹-ri-ni wa-aš-bu
 14 *aš-šum ERIN₂ BÀD.LUG[AL]^{ki} ù ERIN₂ ia-an-ka-hu^{ki}*
 gu-u[m-m]u-ri-im aš^o-ta-ap-pa-ra-am-ma
 16 ERIN₂¹¹ '*šu-a¹-ti ú-ul ú-¹u¹ it-ru-nim*
 a-na¹ i-na-¹pa¹-le¹-šu 'UGULA MAR¹.TU ša ERIN₂ BÀD.LUGAL^{ki}
 18 ù *mu-ti-wa-si UGULA 'MAR¹.TU ša ERIN₂ ia-an-ka-hu^{ki}*
 ša i-¹na¹-an-na¹ i-na¹ [K]Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki} wa-aš-bu
 20 *ni-iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-aš-šu-nu-ši-im-ma*

11. Johns, *A List of the Year-Names Used to Date the Years of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 21: MU ALAM.A.NI MÁŠ GI₆.GA [...-À]M MÚ.MÚ.A ALAM.A.NI [...] (NAM.TI.LA.NI.ŠÈ IN.NE.EN.KU₄.RA) [with actual sign values].

12. Horsnell, *The Year Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Volume II*, Hamilton, 1999, p. 286 (note 51).

13. See: George, CUSAS 18, Bethesda, 2013 (for attestations from the 2nd mill. BCE) and Koch(-Westenholz), AOAT 326, Münster, 2005 (for attestations from the 1st mill. BCE).

- 1 LÚ ú-ul iṭ-ru-du-nim
 T.22 ¹ki-ma¹ ERIN₂ BÂD.LUGAL^{ki} ù ERIN₂ ¹ia-an-ka[¹a-hu^{ki}]
 la ša-am-du
 R.24 A.ŠĀ i+na šu-li¹-i ù ha-mi i-na ka-[ma-si]
 ú-ul i-ka-aš-ša-du
 26 ki-ma a-na¹ be-li¹-ni ni-iš-ta-na¹-ap-pa-¹ra-am¹
 ha-ia-at-ti ERIN₂ LÚ.KÚR u₄-mi-ša-am
 28 ma-ah-ri-ni ú-ul pa-ar-sa-at
 be-el-ni li¹-iq-bi
 30 a-na¹ ERIN₂ BÂD.LUGAL^{ki} ù ERIN₂ ia-an-¹ka¹-hu^{ki}¹
 LÚ a-lik i-d[i]-im ¹li¹-i-š-ku-nu
 32 ¹ar-hi¹-i-š a-na¹ KUN.I₇.¹DA^{ki}
 li¹-¹iṭ-ru-du-ni-iš-¹šu¹-nu-ti-ma
 34 ¹A.ŠĀ i+na šu-[i]¹-i ù ha-mi i-na¹ ka-ma¹-si
 li¹-¹ik-šu¹-du
-
- 36 me-eh-rum
 GÌR ib-na¹-tum ka-aš-š¹-i
 38 ITI NE.NE.GAR U₄ 11.KAM
 MU am-mi-di-ta¹-na¹ LUGAL.E
 40 ALAM.A.NI MÁŠ GI₆.GA

(1-3) To our lord speak: thus (say) your servants.

(4) The city and the troops of our lord are well.

(5-6) When our lord sent soldiers to the fortress of Zibbat-narim to stay (there), ⁽⁹⁾ our lord assigned ⁽⁷⁾ 15 (men) belonging to the troops from Dur-šarrim under the supervision of Ina-palešu ⁽⁸⁾ and 15 (men) belonging to the troops from Yankahu under the supervision of Muti-wasi.

(10) Now, these troops from Dur-šarrim and Yankahu ⁽¹¹⁾ have incurred (staff) loss again and again, and ⁽¹²⁾ there are (only) 7 (men) belonging to the troops from Dur-šarrim and 3 soldiers belonging to the troops from Yankahu ⁽¹³⁾ who are stationed with us. ⁽¹⁴⁻¹⁵⁾ I wrote repeatedly concerning the delivery in full of the soldiers from Dur-šarrim and of the soldiers from Yankahu, but ⁽¹⁶⁾ they did not fetch these soldiers at all. ⁽²⁰⁾ We keep writing to ⁽¹⁷⁾ Ina-palešu the general of the troops from Dur-šarrim ⁽¹⁸⁾ and Muti-wasi the general of the troops from Yankahu ⁽¹⁹⁾ who are now stationed at Babylon, but ⁽²¹⁾ they did not send a single man. ⁽²²⁻²³⁾ Because the soldiers from Dur-šarrim and the soldiers from Yankahu have not been mustered, ⁽²⁵⁾ they will not be sufficient ⁽²⁴⁾ during the carrying/winnowing of the field's harvest and during the picking up of the chaff. ⁽²⁶⁾ As we repeatedly write to our lord, ⁽²⁷⁻²⁸⁾ day after day, in front of us, the enemy's *hayyātum*-group does not split up: ⁽²⁹⁾ may our lord order (that) ⁽³¹⁾ they appoint an escort ⁽³⁰⁾ for the soldiers from Dur-šarrim and the soldiers from Yankahu. ⁽³²⁻³³⁾ May they send them quickly to Zibbat-narim so that ⁽³⁴⁻³⁵⁾ they can be sufficient during the carrying/winnowing of the field's harvest and during the picking up of the chaff!

(36) Copy.

(37) Carrier: Ibnatum, the Kassite.

(38) Month Abum (Month v). Day 11.

(39-40) The year King Ammi-ditana (brought) a statue of him (holding) a black lamb (to the gate of the temple Enamtila) (= A-d 12).

7) A man named Ina-palešu ("During-his(the king's)-reign") is registered as belonging to the troops from Dur-šarrim (ŠĀ ERIN₂* BÂD.LUGAL^{ki}) in two accounts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) dated to year A-d 21 (CUSAS 29 67: 11 and CUSAS 29 68: 11). Although in **Letter 2**, dated to year A-d 12, Ina-palešu is referred to as a "general" (UGULA MAR.TU), both texts probably refer to the same man. The fortress Dur-šarrim was located on the Tigris, but its exact location is unknown. On this toponym, see: Ziegler, *FM* 6, Paris, 2002, p. 242-243, and Ziegler & Langlois, *MTT I/1*, Paris, 2016, p. 88-89.

8, 10, 12, 14, 18 22 & 30) The form Yankahu is, to my knowledge, not attested in other texts, but the form Yankiha is attested in two other OB letters: **ARM 5 59**: 5 (*ia-an-ki-ha^{ki}*) and **FM 6 22**: 6 (*ia-ak-ki-ha^{ki}*). Both forms refer to the same city. Its exact location is unknown, but Yankiha was located on the Tigris, and belonged to the kingdom of Ekallatum under Išme-Dagan. On this toponym, see: Ziegler, *FM* 6, p. 239-240, and Ziegler & Langlois, *MTT I/1*, p. 407 (= Yaqqiha). The spelling *ia-an-KA-hu^{ki}* now shows that the name of this city is to be read Yankahu/Yankiha, not Yanqih. Yankahu is to be added to the list recently provided by Richardson (*NABU* 2019/21) of fortresses under the control of Babylonians during the Late OB period.

8 & 18) The personal name Muti-wasi consists of the word *mutum* “man,” probably followed by a geographical name (based on estimations made by Durand, *SEL* 8, 1991, p. 81-97). For other examples of personal names containing this word, see also: Streck, AOAT 271/1, Münster, 2000, p. 294-299.

11) The CAD Š/2 has the entry *šihhatu/šehhatu* (> ŠHH “to become loose, fall out, disappear”), translated as “flaking, peeling off.” In medical contexts, this substantive is attested in the phrase *šihhat štri*, and is used with the verb *rašūm* “to get.” It is a symptom, not a disease: based on the many attestations available, the *šihhat štri* could indeed match what is now referred to as a “weight loss,” “muscle wasting” or “cachexia” (personal discussion with A. Attia). The expression *ši-ha-tú irašši* (without *štrum*) is also attested on the tablet **BAM 6 555**: ii 24, that enumerates lung diseases: GIG DIB-uš *ši-ha-tú* TUK-ši, “The sickness has seized him. He shall have a loss (of weight, health, etc.)” (Thompson, *RA* 31, 1934, p. 12). The word *šihhatu* is also used in conjunction with *štrum* “plaster,” *eperum* “earth,” *ṣdum* “clay.” It means “drop,” “erosion,” “loss” in those contexts. This word is well attested in MB, NA, and NB sources, but it was not yet attested in OB sources. In **Letter 2** considered here, the loss in question probably refers, in an abstract way, to a reduction in the number of soldiers. The twenty men reported as missing probably died, or fled.

12) The sign ŠĀ is a bit different from the others here.

16) The scribe, who evidently copied the original letter quickly, made a mistake and wrote the sign ITI instead of ERIN₂ (*šabum* “soldiers”). Compare with ITI in line 38 and in **Letter 3**: 49: the shape is the same.

The negation *ul* is repeated here. The same construction appears in two letters from the kingdom of Mari (**ARM 5 28**: 38 and **ARM 26/2 384**: 9'), where it has been understood as an emphatic repetition of the negation (see: Charpin & Durand, *NABU* 1988/17: 13: “Et son champ n'est absolument pas libéré”).

24 & 34) In agricultural contexts, the verb *šūlūm* is often translated as “to move objects to a higher location or upstream.” See: CAD elū 9a (p. 128-129) as well as Fiette, *Archibab* 3, p. 172 (note 619), and Fiette, “Des bateaux pour Babylone,” *Mélanges Charpin*, p. 385 (note 12). But here, the formulation is *eqlam šūlūm*, with no indication of the grain destination (*ana...* “to...”). In several OB letters, *šūlūm* is used in conjunction with *ešēdum* “to harvest”: *eqlam/še'am ešēdum u šūlūm* “to harvest and move up the field harvest/grain” (**Abb 2 66**: 8-10+19-22, **Abb 9 66**: 10, **Abb 14 33**: 5-6+10, etc.). In **Letter 2**, it is followed by the formula *hāmī kamāsum* “to pick up the chaff.” The three operations –to harvest, to move up the harvest/grain and to pick up the chaff– were thus successive. In that context, the expression *eqlam/še'am šūlūm* could refer to the transportation of the grain to the threshing floor, or to the process of winnowing itself. Indeed, although the Akkadian language had a specific verb to express the action of winnowing (*zarūm* “to winnow”), the word *mušēlū*, which is derived from the verb *šūlū(m)*, is given as equivalent to the Sumerian words *lú še bala* and *lú še ab-lá* in post-OB versions of the lexical list Ura,¹⁴ and this word has been translated as “winnowing”/“Worfler” in CAD, CDA, and AHw. According to Civil,¹⁵ the Sumerian verb *še bala* is related to the verb *še-dé* “to winnow,” and the Sumerian verb *še lá* can both refer to the winnowing of the grain and to its transportation to the threshing floor.

27) The word *hayyātum* (written *ha-a-ia-* or *ha-ia-*) is attested in texts found at Tell Hariri (Mari) and Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil/Šehna). More precisely, in the letters **ARM 28 69**: 3, **PIHANS 117 33**: 4, **PIHANS 117 59**: 6+9+17, and **A.2275** (unpublished letter quoted by Durand in *ARM 26/1*, p. 275 note 5), and in the oath protocol **PIHANS 117 LT 2**: iv 37'. It has been understood as a collective term (“mes gens”) in *ARM 26/1* and in *ARM 28* (p. 100), and it is preceded by the word *nišum* “people, population, subjects” in **PIHANS 117 33** (*ni-ši ha-a-ia-tim*). This word thus refers to a group of individuals. A *hayyātum*-group was made up of women (**PIHANS 117 33**) and men (**LT 2**), and included different trades, among them craftsmen (**LT 2**: iv 42'). Individuals from this group were isolated and lived apart, as they are often taken as prisoners (the above-mentioned texts all deal with their release). **Letter 2** reveals that they could be numerous enough to worry Babylonian officials.

The enemy is not named in **Letter 2**, just like in **CUSAS 29 205** (a letter written a few months earlier, about the attack on the city of Nippur). As noted by Gabbay and Boivin, “this enemy may not have been the Sealand kingdom. The period was volatile and other groups may have been involved, for instance Kassites or Elamites” (*ZA* 108/1, 2018, p. 38 note 38). See also the comment by Charpin (forthcoming), §2.1.

34) The sign MA is different from other MA here. The scribe added an extra vertical wedge, thus writing a sign that looks like SÚ instead of MA.

37) The scribe wrote the first horizontal wedge of the sign I, then corrected himself and wrote the sign ŠI over it.

Letter 3 (Cotsen Collection 96214)

The senders reply to a previous letter from King Ammi-ditana. They start by quoting the king's letter: Ammi-ditana told them that Sin-nadin-šumi, the overseer of barbers, had just been ordered to send a commander and a troop of conscripts to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). The king ordered them to send a commander and a troop of conscripts to this shrine as well, along with eight Sutean soldiers, Pirhi-Amurru (a man from Nippur), and Nabium-bel-zero (a soldier from the troops under the supervision of Šu-ilišu). The two groups were to meet there.

14. See the lexical texts database (DCCLT) online: <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus>>.

15. Civil, *AuOr Supl.* 5, Barcelona, 1994, p. 92-93 (note 88f.) and p. 95-96 (notes 102+103).

Then, the commander sent by Sin-nadin-šumi was to take charge of the eight Sutean soldiers, Pirhi-Amurru, and Nabium-bel-zeri, and he had to escort them to the fortress Dur-Sin-muballit. The commander and the troop of conscripts sent by the officials from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) were to return to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal). In his letter, Ammi-ditana also ordered his officials to watch over the sheep and goats, and to keep the troop of prisoners, the troops from the Sea(land), and the troop of Elamites with them. The senders answer that they did what the king demanded, but they are now asking for additional instructions regarding the sheep and goats left in the pasture.

The letter was written on the 4/vi/A-d 15.

- F. *a-na¹ be-li¹[ni]*
 2 *qí-[bí-m]a*
um-ma [IR.MEŠ-k]a-na¹
 4 *URU^{ki} ù [ERIN₂-um ša be-l]i-ni ša-lim*
aš-šum ša be-[el-ni iš-pu-ra]-an-ni-a-š[i-im]
 6 *um-ma [be-el]-ni-[ma]*
a-na^dEN.ZU¹-n[a-di]-i¹in¹-[šu-m]i UGULA¹ŠU¹.[I]
 8 *aš-šum 1 GAL.UKKIN.NA¹ qá-du ERIN₂ pí-ih-ri-im a-na pí-t[im ša BARA₂-mar]*
ta-ra-di-im it-ta-aš-[pa-ar]
 10 *i-nu-ma i-ša-ap-pa-r[a-am]*
 1 *GAL.UKKIN.NA pa-ni ERIN₂ pí-ih-ri-im l[i-iš-ba-at]*
 12 *8 ERIN₂ su-ti-i ša¹ma¹-{x}¹ah¹-ri-ku-n[u wa-aš-bu]*
^{Id}na-bi¹-um-be-el-NUMUN ŠÀ ERIN₂ NĪ.ŠU šu-ì-lí-šu
 14 *ur¹ [pir-hi-^dMAR.TU] LÚ¹E[N.LÍL^{ki}]*
it-ti¹-š[u li-il-qí a-na pí-tim ša BARA₂-mar li-il-li-ku-nim]
 16 *a-na qá-bé^{d2}x[...]*
ù 6+2 E]RIN₂ su-ti-i¹ [pir-hi-^dMAR.TU LÚ EN.LÍL^{ki}]
 18 *ù^dna-bi-um-be-el-N[UMUN ŠÀ ERIN₂ NĪ.ŠU šu-ì-lí-šu]*
<ša> pí-tam ša BARA₂-mar uš¹te-bi¹-ru-š[u-nu-ti]
 20 *a-na GAL.UKKIN.NA ša it-ru-du-nim li-ip-qí¹[is-s]ú-nu-ti-ma*
a-na BÀD.^dEN.ZU-mu-ba-lí-í^{ki} lí¹-ir-du-šu-nu-ti
 22 *GAL.UKKIN.NA qá-du ERIN₂ pí-ih-ri-im¹li¹-[tu]-ra-am²-ma*
a-na ma-ah-ri-ku-nu¹ERIN₂ lí¹-te-ra¹am¹
 24 *U⁸.UDU.HI.A i-ta-ap¹la¹-sa¹ma¹ ši-im-ta la i-ra-aš-ši-a¹*
[ER]IN₂ a-si-ru ERIN₂ A.AB.BA ù ERIN₂ ELAM.MA
 26 *ma-ah-ri-ku-nu-ma lu wa-aš-bu*
ša be-el-ni iš-[pu-ra-an]-ni-a-ši-im
 T.28 *i+na ITI KIN.^dINANNA U₄ 3.KAM¹*
 R. *^{Id}EN.ZU¹-na-di-in-šu-mi¹UGULA¹ŠU¹.I*
 30 *iš-pu-ra-an-ni-a-ši-im*
i+na ITI KIN.^dINANNA U₄ 4.KAM
 32 *ib-ni^dEN.ZU¹ GAL¹.UK[KIN.N]A pa-ni ERIN₂ pí-ih-ri-im iš-ba-at*
8 ERIN₂ su-ti-i¹ pir-hi-^dM[A]R.TU LÚ EN.LÍL^{ki}
 34 *ù^dna-bi-um-be-el-NUMUN ŠÀ ERIN₂ NĪ.ŠU šu-ì-lí-šu*
it-ti-šu il-qí a-na pí-tim ša BARA₂-mar il¹li-ku-nim¹
 36 *ù 8 ERIN₂ su-ti-i¹ pir-hi-^dMAR.TU LÚ EN.LÍL^{ki}*
ù^dna-bi-um-be-el-ze-ri ŠÀ ERIN₂ NĪ.ŠU šu-ì-lí-šu
 38 *pí-tam ša BARA₂-mar ú-še-bi-ru*
a-na GAL.UKKIN.NA ša il-li-kam ip-qí-is-sú-nu-ti-ma
 40 *a-na BÀ[D.E]N.ZU¹-mu¹-ba-lí-í^{ki} il-te-qú-šu-nu-ti*
ib-[ni^dE]N.ZU¹ GAL.UKKIN.NA qá-du ERIN₂ pí-ih-ri-¹[im i-tu-ur]
 42 *ERIN₂ a¹-si-ri ma-ah-ri-ni ni-na-a[š-ša-ar]*
U⁸.UDU.HI.A ni-it-ta-na-ap-[la-as-ma]
 44 *i-na ri-i-tim a-na¹ ERIN₂ LÚ.KÚR ša na¹-k[a]-¹dí²-dí²-im¹*
te₄-em U⁸.UDU.HI.A ši-na-ti¹ar¹-hi-iš be-el-ni
 46 *li¹-iš-pu-ra-an-ni-a-ši-im*

me-eh-rum <<DUMU^dINANNA-be-el-ti¹i¹>>

- 48 *GIR <DUMU^dINANNA-be-el-ti¹i¹> ŠÀ ERIN₂ tu-ru-kum*
 ITI KIN.^dINANNA U₄ 4.KAM
 50 *MU am-mi-di-ta-na LUGALE*
urudu¹KI.LUGAL.GUB.BA GAL.GALLA

(1-3) To [our] lord sp[ea]k: thus (say) your [servants].

(4) The city and [the troops] of our lord are well.

(5-6) About what [our] lord [wr]ote to us as follows:

“(7-9) It has been written to Sin-nadin-šumi the overseer of bar[bers] to send to the *opening* of the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) a commander (*mu'errum*) with a troop of conscripts. (10) When he writes, (11) a commander should t[ake] the lead of a troop of conscripts. (15) [He should take] with h[im] (12) 8 Sutean soldiers who [are stationed] with you, (13) [Nabi]um-bel-zeri from the tro[ops] under the supervision of Šu-ilišu, (14) and [Pirhi-Amurru]m the man of Nippur. (15) [They should go to the *opening* of the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil).] (16) Upon the order of [...]. (17) And (20) he (= the commander) should entrust to the (other) commander that one (will have) sent (17-19) the 8 Sutean soldiers, [Pirhi-Amurru]m the man of Nippur, and Nabium-bel-zeri from the troops under the supervision of Šu-ilišu <whom> they will have brought across the *opening* of the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). (20) And (21) one should escort them to Dur-Sin-muballit. (22) The commander should tur[n back] with the troop of conscripts and (23) he should send back the troops to you. (24) (Something else:) watch over the sheep and goats but they must not get the (ownership) mark. (25-26) (And) it is with you that the troop of prisoners, the troops from the Sea(land), and the troop of Elamites should stay.”

(27) (This is) what our lord wrote to us. (28) During the month Elūnum (= Month vi), on Day 3, (29-30) Sin-nadin-šumi the overseer of barbers wrote to us. (31) During the month Elūnum, on Day 4, (32) Ibni-Sin the commander took the lead of a troop of conscripts. (35) He took with him (33) 8 Sutean soldiers, Pirhi-Amurru the man of Nippur, (34) and Nabium-bel-zeri from the troops under the supervision of Šu-ilišu. (35) They went to the *opening* of the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). (36-38) And they brought the 8 Sutean soldiers, Pirhi-Amurru the man of Nippur, and Nabium-bel-zeri from the troops under the supervision of Šu-ilišu across the *opening* of the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). (39) He entrusted them to the (other) commander who came (there) and (40) one took them to Dur-Sin-muballit. (41) Ibni-Sin the commander (then) [turned back] with the troop of conscripts. (42) We are takin[g care of] the troop of prisoners. (43) We are watching o[ver] the sheep and goats [but] (44) in the pasture (there are) those who are *afraid* of the enemy: (45-46) may our lord quickly send us instructions about these sheep and goats!

(47) Copy. <<the son of Ištar-belti>>

(48) Carrier: <the son of Ištar-belti> belonging to the Turukkean troops.

(49) Month Elūnum (Month vi). Day 4.

(50-51) The year King Ammi-ditana (gave to the temple Enamtila) a very big royal copper platform (= A-d 15).

A similar journey to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) is referred to in several texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (see the historical context section below). The expenditure of sheep CUSAS 29 44, written four years before **Letter 3** (26/v/A-d 11), mentions another letter from King Ammi-ditana with similar instructions: this document states that he (= the king) wrote about sending Warad-Marduk with a troop of conscripts to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil).

7) According to this letter, the overseer of barbers Sin-nadin-šumi received a letter from the king similar to the one quoted here, ordering him to send a commander (GAL.UKKIN.NA) to Parak-mār(-Enlil). Sin-nadin-šumi had to pick up eight Sutean soldiers, Pirhi-Amurru, and Nabium-bel-zeri there, in order to bring them to the fortress Dur-Sin-muballit. Sin-nadin-šumi was therefore stationed at Dur-Sin-muballit at that time. This official is also mentioned in a few administrative texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), which reveals that he could be stationed at that fortress too. He is mentioned in CUSAS 29 58: 3-7 and 61: 9-11, two texts referring to him as a commander (GAL.UKKIN.NA) going to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) with a troop of conscripts and boats carrying barley. These texts were written three and two years prior to **Letter 3** (22/-/A-d 12 and 6/v/A-d 13): Sin-nadin-šumi was thus promoted to the rank of overseer of barbers between A-d 13 and A-d 15. This man is also mentioned in CUSAS 29 63: 2 as a provider of a sheep for a similar journey.

13, 18, 34 & 37) Šu-ilišu, who is in charge of soldiers in **Letter 3**, has the title UGULA MAR.TU “general” in CUSAS 29 180: 11 [A-d -]. He is also mentioned in CUSAS 29 71: 3 [A-d 15]: his title is not indicated in this text, but he is mentioned just before his subordinates in the military hierarchy, the “captains” (UGULA GIDRI.MEŠ).

8, 15, 19, 35 & 38) On the *pītum ša Parak-mār(-Enlil)* “*opening* of the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil),” see the historical context section below.

14, 17, 33 & 36) The presence of office-holders (*bēl/šūt tērētīm*) on a journey to/from the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) in CUSAS 29 57: 10 and 206: 9 makes me hypothesize that Pirhi-Amurru, the man of Nippur, could be an office-holder from that city, i.e. someone who had a cultic office in a Nippur temple. He perhaps went to Parak-mār(-Enlil) to attend to the cult of Ninurta. On the meaning of the title *bēl/šūt tērētīm*, see: George, CUSAS 10, p. 144-145 and Charpin (forthcoming), §2.2.

21 & 40) The toponym Dur-Sin-muballit (“The-fortress-of-Sin-muballit”) is attested in other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (CUSAS 29 36: 9, 41: 34, 44: 16, 176: 10, etc.). A commemorative inscription of King Hammu-rabi celebrates the construction of this fortress, described as being located at the source (*pātum*) of the canal ⁱHammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši (E4.3.6.7: 38-49 in: D. R. Frayne, RIME 4, Toronto, 1990, p. 340-342). The extensive name of this fortress was Dur-Sin-muballit-abim-walidiya (“The-fortress-of-Sin-muballit-the-father-my-genitor”). On this name, see: Charpin, RA 100, 2006, p. 142 (note p. 144).

24) This line means that the officials from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) were not allowed to affix their ownership mark on the sheep and goats from this herd. According to the letter **AbB 14 62**, the mark affixed on sheep and goats –unlike others– could not be removed. It was probably made with a branding iron.

25) On these troops, see the historical context section below.

32 & 41) Two commanders (GAL.UKKIN.NA) by the name of Ibni-Sin are attested in texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) dated to Ammi-ditana's father, King Abi-ešuh. According to Charpin (*RA* 112, 2018, p. 190), the first is attested in texts written between A-e 13 (1699 BCE) and A-e 21 (1691 BCE), and the second in texts written between A-e 20 (1692 BCE) and A-e 21 (1691 BCE). If one of them is referred to in **Letter 3**, he was rather old when this letter was written, in the year A-d 15 (1669 BCE). The same man is mentioned as going to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) in **CUSAS 29 60**: 4, an expenditure of sheep written two years earlier (25/ii/A-d 13). He holds the same position of commander (GAL.UKKIN.NA) in that text. He is certainly also mentioned in **CUSAS 29 53**: 1 (*ib-ni*.^d[EN* ZU*]), as a provider of a sheep for a similar journey.

33 & 36) The sign LÍL is very compressed. It has the same shape as LÍL as written in **CUSAS 29 205**: 3' (a copy of another letter addressed to King Ammi-ditana, which was probably written by the same scribe).

44) *ana... nakādum* “to be afraid of (something)” fits well here, and the traces are consistent with a repetition of DI. If this reading is correct, it can be understood either as a gemination of the third radical –made to emphasize the meaning of the verb, i.e. “truly fearing”– or as a dittography.

48) This soldier could be a descendant of the Turukkeans who were defeated and deported to the Dilbat region under King Hammu-rabi, and who are attested in texts dated from Hammu-rabi's son, King Samsu-iluna (see: Charpin, *CRAI* 38, Paris, 1992, p. 213-217 and Charpin, *RA* 98, 2004, p. 172).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The letter corpus from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal)

The excavations at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) have yielded at least three hundred administrative texts, but some letters have been found as well. The table below presents an overview of the letter corpus coming from this fortress. If known, the date and content of the letters are specified.

Date	Reference	Content
29/xi/A-d 11	CUSAS 29 205 (CUNES 51-02-138)	Copy (<i>me-eh-rum</i>) of a letter to “our lord” (<i>be-li-ni</i> , King Ammi-ditana) from his servants. The senders report that the city of Nippur and its main sanctuary, the Ekur, have been attacked by the enemy.
15/i/A-d 12	Letter 1 (Cots. Coll. 96213)	Copy of a letter to “our lord” (<i>be-li-ni</i>) from his servants. The senders review the barley supplies that have been sent to Zibbat-narim to be given to the soldiers. Of the 54 000 liters of barley that have been sent, 29 010 have been given to the soldiers as rations for Month xii (A-d 11) and Month i (A-d 12). But there is a problem with the barley supplies for Month ii. The senders ask the king where they can expect to receive the barley shipment.
11/v/A-d 12	Letter 2 (Cots. Coll. 96212)	Copy of a letter to “our lord” (<i>be-li-ni</i>) from his servants. Thirty soldiers from Dur-šarrim and Yankahu have been appointed to Zibbat-narim to help with field work, but only ten men arrived there. The senders ask the king to have someone pick up and escort to Zibbat-narim other soldiers from these troops, now stationed at Babylon.
4/vi/A-d 15	Letter 3 (Cots. Coll. 96214)	Copy of a letter to “our lord” (<i>be-li-ni</i>) from his servants. The senders reply to a previous letter from King Ammi-ditana. They were asked to send a commander, a troop of conscripts, and two other men to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). The king also wanted them to watch over the sheep and goats, and to keep the troop of prisoners, the troops from the Sea(land), and the troop of Elamites with them. The senders did what the king demanded, but they are now asking for additional instructions regarding the sheep and goats left in the pasture.
7 [?] /iii/A-d –	CUSAS 29 206 (CUNES 51-02-132)	Partial copy of a letter. The name of the addressee and the name of the sender are not given, but the letter was probably addressed to “our lord” from his servants. Same hand as the preceding copies of letters to Ammi-ditana. The senders report that the commander Sin-iddinam went to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) with a troop of conscripts. He then went to Zibbat-narim with troops of soldiers and cultic personnel, and the senders report that extispicies were done to make sure that these men could safely travel to Nippur to perform sacrifices there. ¹⁶ Because the omens were favorable, they confirm that all these men have left. They will go back to Zibbat-narim once the sacrifices are performed.

16. See **CUSAS 29 45, 48, 50** and **55** for similar oracular interrogations recorded in administrative texts.

		The events described in this letter took place during Month iii, between Day 4 ² and Day 7. The original letter to the king and its copy were certainly written during the same month, likely on Day 7. Sin-iddinam is attested in other texts dated to the reign of Ammi-ditana: as noted by Charpin (forthcoming), he is mentioned in JCSSS 2 17: 12 (6/ii/Ad 13); he is probably also mentioned in CUSAS 29 71: 2 (3/i/A-d 15).
5/-/A-d –	CUNES 51-02-126 (unpublished) ¹⁷	Copy of a letter to “our lord” (<i>be-li-ni</i>) from his servants. Same address and greeting formulas, and same hand as the preceding copies. The date is partially broken.
-/-/A-d –	MS 3218/20 (unpublished) ¹⁸	Copy of a letter to “our lord” (<i>be-li-ni</i>) from his servants. Undated. Same address and greeting formulas, and same hand as the preceding copies dated from Ammi-ditana.
23/ii/S-d 10	CUSAS 8 58 (CUNES 51-01-059)	Letter-order (on a <i>ze'pum</i> tablet). The name of the addressee and of the sender are not given. About the delivery of sesame to different people.
Undated	CUSAS 10 16 (MS 3208)	Letter (on a <i>ze'pum</i> tablet). The name of the addressee and the name of the sender are not given. The sender is asking for help: he needs one mina of wool. The status of this text has been debated. ¹⁹
Undated	CUSAS 29 143 (CUNES 51-03-032)	Letter-order (on a <i>ze'pum</i> tablet). The name of the addressee and the name of the sender are not given. About the delivery of barley to different people.
Undated	CUSAS 29 144 (CUNES 51-03-032)	Letter-order (on a <i>ze'pum</i> tablet). The name of the addressee and the name of the sender are not given. About the delivery of barley to Mutum-ili to grind flour.
Undated	Földi 2017²⁰ (Kress 5)	Draft of a letter to Sin-magir from Lugal-gubbani. Unfinished, unclear.
Undated	MS 3218/8 (unpublished)	Letter to “my lord” (<i>be-li-ia</i>) from Eškit-Šamaš.
Undated	MS 3218/9 (unpublished)	Letter. The address is lost.
Undated	MS 3218/11 (unpublished)	Letter (on a <i>ze'pum</i> tablet) to Išū-našir from Eṭirum.
Undated	MS 3218/14 (unpublished)	Letter to the gentlemen (<i>a-wi-le-e</i>) from the chief accountants (GÁ.DUB.BA.MEŠ).
Undated	MS 3218/16 (unpublished)	Letter to the gentlemen whom Enlil keeps in good health from the city elders of Nippur.
Undated	MS 3218/17 (unpublished)	Letter to the gentleman (<i>a-wi-lim</i>) from Ibni-Marduk.
Undated	MS 3218/19 (unpublished)	Letter to Sin-magir from Lugal-gubbani.
Undated	MS 3218/21 (unpublished)	Letter to the gentleman (<i>a-wi-lim</i>) from Apil-ili.
Undated	MS 3218/24 (unpublished)	Letter. The address is lost.
Undated	MS 3218/26 (unpublished)	Letter to Abi[...] from Rabut-[...] (<i>ra-bu-ut</i> ^d [...]).

Table 1. The letter corpus from Dur-Abi-ešuh²¹

The table above shows that the letters and copies of letters found by looters at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) are heterogeneous. The senders and addresses are numerous, and paleography points to different scribes. These texts

17. I am very grateful to K. Van Lerberghe, who told me about this tablet and kindly sent me his photographs.

18. Photographs of the tablet are available online: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P342678>.

19. See Charpin, RA 109, 2015, p. 144 (note 3) and the notes by Béranger and Charpin on the Archibab website (<http://www.archibab.fr/T22829>).

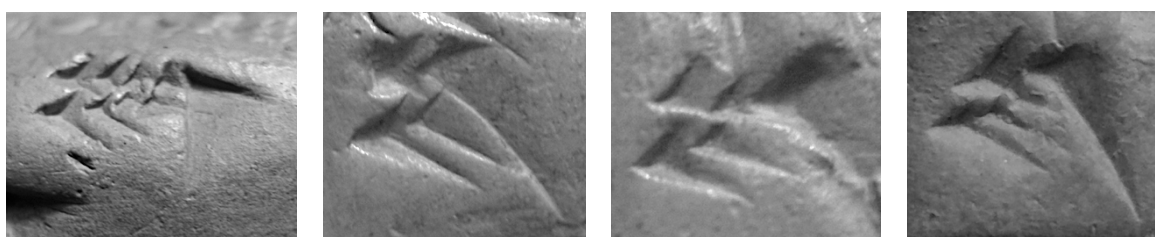
20. In 2017 (*DWJ* 2, p. 11), Földi announced having found another letter from Dur-Abi-ešuh in the private collection of P. Kress (Bochum, Germany). This letter is still unpublished.

21. The letters from the Schøyen Collection (Oslo) mentioned here come from the batch MS 3218, which has been described as containing texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh by George, CUSAS 10, Bethesda, 2009, p. 136. The archival texts in this batch will be published by F. van Koppen in a CUSAS volume.

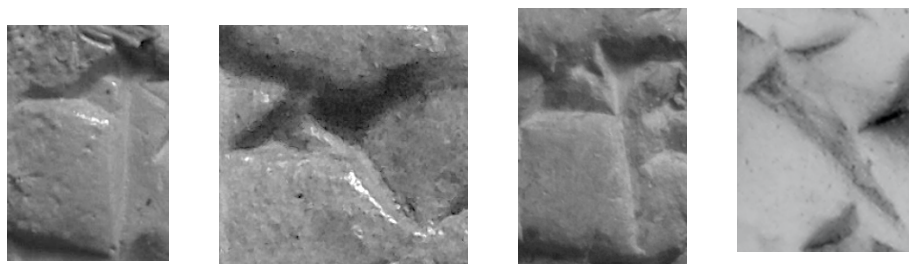
most probably come from different archives. The same observation was made by Charpin, who suggested that some of the tablets found at Dur-Abi-ešuh (those dated from Abi-ešuh to Ammi-šaduqa) were part of dead archives: these tablets may have originally been in different baskets, the contents of which were discarded.²² The word *awīlum* “man,” which was used in the address of letters to refer to the head of household,²³ shows that some of these texts were originally stored in private archives. The seven copies of letters addressed to King Ammi-ditana were probably kept in an administrative building (see below).

Paleography, writing process, and the delivery of mail

Several letters addressed to King Ammi-ditana have been copied before being sent: **Letters 1-3** published here, **CUSAS 29 205-206**, **CUNES 51-02-126**, and **MS 3218/20**. Based on their ductus, these copies have been written by the same scribe. The script is cursive and typical of Late OB texts, but many signs are also reduced to a minimalistic shape, especially A, KI, LI, and NA. Interestingly, A, LI and NA are written normally in the first lines, and are then greatly simplified (see below). This shows that the scribe progressively accelerated the writing of the text, taking less and less care. Such a shortening of signs for the sake of rapidity is reminiscent of stenographic writings. This scribe was writing a copy, not the original letter sent to the king in Babylon. Since contemporaneous letters reveal that this kind of “stenographic writing” was not the norm at that time, the originals to be read by the king’s secretary had most likely been written more carefully.²⁴ The same shorthand also appears in some expenditures of sheep from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), which were written at the same time as the copies mentioned here (**CUSAS 29 44-65**, written between A-d 11 and A-d 13). Such texts were also meant for local archiving, and could thus be abbreviated. Some of them, at least, have been written by the same scribe as our copies. These tablets were probably stored in the same administrative building.



Sign LI in **Letter 1**: 1 and 35, in **Letter 2**: 35, and in **Letter 3**: 46.



Sign NA in **Letter 2**: 7 and 32, in **Letter 3**: 44, and in **CUNES 51-02-126**: 26.

Apart from **CUSAS 29 206** and **MS 3218/20**, each copy has a colophon naming the man who was about to carry the letter to the king in Babylon. This man is introduced by the ideogram GİR (akk. *šēpum*), lit. “foot,” i.e. “carrier.” The name and status of the different carriers as recorded in colophons are listed below:

22. Charpin, *RA* 112, 2018, p. 188 (§2.1.3).

23. Charpin, *PIHANS* 78, Leiden, 1996, p. 222.

24. Compare with the three letters sent by King Ammi-ditana to Liṭib-libbašu, published in Fadhil, *RA* 108, 2014, p. 44-60. Photographs of these tablets are available on Archibab: <<http://www.archibab.fr/T20423>>, <<http://www.archibab.fr/T20424>>, and <<http://www.archibab.fr/T20425>>.

- Damiq-Marduk, a Kassite soldier (**CUNES 51-02-126**: 33-34);²⁵
- Ibnatum, a Kassite soldier (**Letter 2**: 37);
- Išū-ibnišu, a courier (LÚ.KAŠ₄.E), and Šumum-libši, overseer of couriers (UGULA LÚ.KAŠ₄.E) (**CUSAS 29 205**: 8'-9');
- Nergal-nišu, a soldier from Maškan-šapir (**Letter 1**: 37);
- the son of Ištar-belti, a Turukkean soldier (**Letter 3**: 47-48).

Some men mentioned here, who bear the title LÚ.KAŠ₄.E, Akk. *lāsimum* “courier,” were responsible for the delivery of mail, but many were not.

Outside of Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), the practice of copying a letter, and writing the name of the mail carrier and the date on the copy, is attested at Ešnunna: the tablet **Guichard Semitica 58 1**: 44-46 specifies that the original letter from King Iluni to Inzuršakšu was carried by Šamhum, a scribe (DUMU É.DUB.BA.A).²⁶ The tablet **Guichard Semitica 58 4**: 16-23 states that the original letter from Iluni to Hadanhuha was carried by Buhum and Šilli-Tišpak, two mounted messengers (RA.GAB), and by Ibniya (a man from Kakmum whose title is uncertain).²⁷ Both letters dealt with important matters: a request for soldiers in the first case, and a call for help to Babylon after an attack by Suteans in the second case. Other texts from the same archive have recently been published by Abed.²⁸ Among them are four copies of letters from King Iluni which have the expression GÌR PN + date. On the tablet **Abed RAKI 29**: 29-30, the letter is said to be carried by Sin-abušu, a mounted messenger (RA.GAB), and Qišti-ilim, a man from Nawar. In **Abed RAKI 16**: 38-39, the original letter is carried by the same Sin-abušu, along with two other men whose name is partly broken. In **Abed RAKI 15**: 31-35, the letter from the king is said to be carried by several men, including a mounted messenger (RA.GAB), and in **Abed RAKI 31**: 34', the carrier is a man named Aššur-ali (perhaps a boatman?).²⁹ The text **RA 102 9** (from the kingdom of Larsa) is a memorandum summarizing the content of a letter and specifying the name of the man who carried it (Illum-našir). Additional attestations of this practice will surely come to light in the future.

Status of the senders

Letter 3 implies that King Ammi-ditana had sent a similar letter to Sin-nadin-šumi, an overseer of barbers (UGULA ŠU.I) who was stationed at Dur-Sin-muballit at that time. The officials who sent **Letters 1-3** from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) thus held a similar high-ranking position. They seem to have had some responsibilities in other fortresses than Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), as they were somehow in charge of Zibbat-narim too (see below). They are probably to be sought among the high ranking officials mentioned in the barley and sheep expenditures from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), who were frequently on the move and were passing by Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) with troops: i.e., among the overseers of barbers (UGULA ŠU.I), *šukkallum*-ministers (SUKKAL), chief accountants (GÁ.DUB.BA), and commanders (GAL.UKKIN.NA). One of them was probably an overseer of barbers, like Sin-nadin-šumi.

25. ⁽³³⁾ GÌR da-m[i-i]q-^dAMAR.UTU ka-aš-ši-i ⁽³⁴⁾ ŠÀ ERIN₂ [NÌ].ŠU be-el-š[u]-^fnu¹. This general is probably the one mentioned in **CUSAS 29 39**: 5' [A-e-] and **CUSAS 29 40**: 5 [A-e 21].

26. For the reading É.DUB.BA.A, see the note by Charpin on Archibab: “Lire DUMU 'É.DUB.BA' A ‘scribe’, au lieu de DUMU 'x-x-x-a' ‘fils de (...)’. Dans la mesure où Šamhum est lui-même mentionné l. 37 comme devant revenir avec un envoyé du destinataire, il est clair que GÌR sert ici à indiquer le nom du messenger porteur de la tablette. Cela permet de trancher l’incertitude de l’éditeur : ‘Il s’agit donc de copies de lettres envoyées ou bien de textes préparatoires archivés’ (Semitica 58: 19). La première solution est à retenir pour cette lettre et pour le n°4.” (<<http://www.archibab.fr/T22165>>).

27. Guichard read Á.f^{x1}, suggesting that it could be the Sumerian word for *alik idim* “escort” (Semitica 58, 2016, p. 48-49). This is tempting but otherwise unattested, and the CAD has the corresponding Sumerian LÚ.ÚS.SA for *alik idim* (CAD A/1 [1964] p. 343). Charpin suggested to read Á.G[ÁL] instead, since this title is attested elsewhere (see his comment on Archibab: <<http://www.archibab.fr/T22168>>). Its meaning is still obscure.

28. Abed, *The Royal Archive of The King Iluni from Basi City*, 2018. I thank D. Charpin, who brought these texts to my attention.

29. ⁽³⁴⁾ GÌR aš-šur^{ki}.URU* DU.DU.

The fortresses Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) and Zibbat-narim

The toponym Zibbat-narim (KUN.I7.DA^{ki}), lit. “The-tail(= outlet)-of-the-canal,” is attested in a few texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal):

– **CUSAS 29 205**: 7 [29/xi/A-d 11]: after the attack on Nippur, people fled and arrived at Zibbat-narim (KUN*.I7.DA^{ki});

– **CUSAS 29 206**: 11+20 [7²/iii/A-d –]: the commander Sin-iddinam went to Zibbat-narim (KUN*.I7.DA^{ki}) with troops and cultic personnel. They waited in that fortress before a diviner confirmed that they could safely travel to Nippur to perform sacrifices there. These men were to go back to Zibbat-narim once the sacrifices were performed;

– **Letter 1**: 8+26 [15/i/A-d 12]: barley rations to be given to soldiers have been brought to Zibbat-narim (KUN.I7.DA^{ki}), but there is a problem with the rations for Month ii;

– **Letter 2**: 5+32 [11/v/A-d 12]: soldiers have been appointed to Zibbat-narim (KUN.I7.DA^{ki}) to help with field work, but many of them did not arrive;

– **CUSAS 8 49**: 9 [22/v/A-š 18]: sesame is to be paid back in the port of Zibbat-narim (KUN.I7.DA^{ki});

– **CUSAS 8 80**: 9 [8/vi/–]: boats taken in the port of Nippur by hunters-soldiers are brought to Zibbat-narim (KUN.HI.A.I7.DA^{ki}).³⁰

Zibbat-narim is always followed by the determinative for cities (^{ki}). Abraham & Van Lerberghe understood this toponym as an abbreviated version of Dur-Abi-ešuh^{ki} ša zibbat ³Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši (BĀD-a-bi-e-šu-uh^{ki} ša KUN ³ha-am-mu-ra-bi-nu-hu-uš-ni-ši), i.e. of Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal).³¹

“Zibbat-nārim or kunḡ.íd.da^{ki} most probably refers to Dūr-Abiešuḡ at the outlet of the canal Ḥammurabi-nuḡuš-niši.”

In the administrative texts, scribes most often referred to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) by writing its full and extensive name, Dur-Abi-ešuh^{ki} ša zibbat ³Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši. But some administrative texts simply mention “the city” (URU^{ki}/ālum),³² and one text seems to refer to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) as “the fortress” (BĀD^{ki}).³³ The last two abbreviated names could reflect real topographical distinctions, as revealed by **CUSAS 18 4**, a divinatory report which contains the following enumeration:³⁴

- 4 [a-n]a ¹šu¹[lum BĀD-a-bi-e-šu-uh^{ki}
[ša] KUN ¹ha¹[am-mu-r]a-bi-nu-hu-uš-ni-ši
6 ¹u¹ ERIN₂ be-lí-ia ša i-na¹ ŠĀ URU^{ki} BĀD ù ¹ki¹⁸ -de-e wa-aš-bu

(4-6) To (determine) the well-being of Dur-Abi-ešuh^{ki} ša zibbat ³Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši, and of my lord’s troops who are stationed inside the city, in the fortress, and in the countryside.

This text seems to list the different “districts” of Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal): the city, the fortress, and the countryside (*kīdum*).

The copies of letters sent to King Ammi-ditana, listed in Table 1, all refer to “the city” (URU^{ki}) in their greeting formula. Interestingly, **Letter 1** makes a distinction between “the city” and Zibbat-narim:

– in line 4, the senders state that “the city” (URU^{ki}) is well. In lines 24-26, they claim that there is almost no more barley in “the city” (*i-na a-lim*). There is certainly another reference to “the city” in line 20, but the tablet is damaged and the text is partly restored: “[the city] where we are stationed” (*[i-na a-lim] ša wa-aš-ba-a-nu*);

– in lines 7-8, the senders mention the barley brought to Zibbat-narim (KUN.I7.DA^{ki}). In line 26, they claim that there is no more barley in the granary of Zibbat-narim.

The distinction which is made in this letter clearly indicates that “the city” and Zibbat-narim refer to two different cities. Like the administrative texts published in CUSAS 8 and CUSAS 29, the copies of letters to King Ammi-ditana were undoubtedly found –and written– at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal). The reference to “the city” thus

30. For this reading, see: Charpin, *RA* 109, 2015, p. 156.

31. Abraham & Van Lerberghe, CUSAS 29, 2017, p. 167.

32. **CUSAS 29 25**: 8 (URU^{ki}), **64**: 4 (URU^{ki}), **140**: 11 (URU^{ki}), **142**: 7 (URU^{ki}), and **146**: 5 (*a-lim*).

33. **CUSAS 29 39**: 33' (BĀD^{ki}).

34. Published by George, CUSAS 18, Bethesda, 2013, p. 13-19.

points to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), or perhaps even more specifically to one of its districts. As for Zibbat-narim, its location is now provided by the tablet **MS 3196**, kept in the Schøyen Collection. This tablet, brought to my attention by A. George,³⁵ is dated from the reign of King Ammi-ditana and is to be associated with the texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal). It contains a map of a network of canals beside the Euphrates, and gives the volumes of soil to be removed during dredging work. On the map, Zibbat-narim is located along the Euphrates, between the inlet and the outlet of the canal Musahhirum. Since Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) was situated at the outlet of the canal Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši, this confirms that Zibbat-narim and Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) are two different cities.

Zibbat-narim is described as a *birtum* “fort” in **Letter 2**: 5. It had its own *kārum* “port” (**CUSAS 8 49**: 9), and its own granary (**Letter 1**: 26). Like Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), it was located along the Euphrates. The two fortresses were not far from each other, given that officials stationed at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) were able to supervise the barley rations for the soldiers in Zibbat-narim. The latter fortress was not far from Nippur either: indeed, those who fled Nippur when that city was attacked went to Zibbat-narim (**CUSAS 29 205**: 5-7), and the commander Sin-iddinam, his troops and the cultic personnel had to wait in Zibbat-narim before a diviner confirmed that they could safely travel to Nippur to perform sacrifices there (**CUSAS 29 206**: 7-21). These last two letters seem to imply that Zibbat-narim was closer to Nippur than Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), so it was perhaps located between Nippur and Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal). Finally, it should be noted that the city Zibbat-narim is attested in a Middle Babylonian text from Nippur.³⁶

Parak-mār(-Enlil), a shrine of Ninurta

The sequence BARA₂-mar is repeated on several occasions in **Letter 3** (l. 19, 35 & 38), and in other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal): **CUSAS 29 44**: 19+21, **53**: 4, **56**: 4, **57**: 11, **58**: 6, **59**: 7, **60**: 9, **61**: 11, **63**: 6, and **206**: 6. It refers to a location: the texts mentioning it are about “crossing over³⁷/bringing across³⁸/going to³⁹/sending (someone) to⁴⁰ the BARA₂-mar.” The first sign has been read URUDU in **CUSAS 29**, probably because the word ^{urudu}MAR (Akk. *marrum*, “spade”) is well attested. But, on the copies and on the photographs, this sign looks like URUDU only in **CUSAS 29 57**: 11, and maybe in **CUSAS 29 44**: 19. Otherwise, it is more complex than URUDU.⁴¹ In **CUSAS 29** and in **Letter 3**, it looks like BARA₂ “dais, shrine” as written at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal).⁴² The word ^{urudu}MAR was translated as “the copper spade (sacrifice)” by Abraham and Van Lerberghe, on the basis of two texts in which they read: SISKUR₂ ša ^{urudu}MAR (**CUSAS 29 53**: 4 and **57**: 11). The authors made the following comment (**CUSAS 29**, p. 3 note 7):

“The closest parallels we could find to our ‘copper spade ritual’ are from Mari, where a sacrifice of the chariot of Nergal and a sacrifice of the throne of Annunītum occur (ARM 5, 25 and ARM 10, 55).”

On their copies, the sign preceding the preposition *ša* does not look like SISKUR₂ (AMAR×ŠE.AMAR×ŠE) “sacrifice”.⁴³ In both cases, I propose to read *a-na pī*-tim* ša BARA₂-mar* instead. The sign on the copy of **CUSAS 29 53**: 4 does look TIM (compare with **Letter 3**: 35+44), and the copy of **CUSAS 29 57** needs to be corrected.

35. I thank A. George for pointing **MS 3196** to my attention and for sending me his copies of the tablet. George will publish **MS 3196** in a future **CUSAS** volume. Photographs of the tablet are available on the CDLI website: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P252187>.

36. **Ni 2720** (Van Lerberghe & Voet, **CUSAS 8**, 2009, p. 104).

37. **CUSAS 29 61**: 13 (*še-um i-bi-ra-am* “the barley crossed”).

38. **Letter 3**: 19+38 (*pi-tam ša BARA₂-mar uš-te-bi¹-ru-š[u-nu-ti]/ú-še-bi-ru*).

39. **CUSAS 29 53**: 5 (*a-na pī*-tim* ša BARA₂-mar a-la-ki-im*), **56**: 4 (*a-[na] ¹BARA₂-mar¹ a-la-ki-im*), **57**: 11 (*a-na pī*-tim* ša BARA₂-mar a-la-ki-i[m]*), **58**: 6-7 (*a-na BARA₂-mar a-la-ki-im*), **59**: 7-8 (*a-na BARA₂-mar [a-la-ki-im]*), **60**: 9-10 (*a-na BARA₂-mar¹ a-la¹-ki-im*), **61**: 11-12 (*a-na BARA₂-mar a-la-ki-im*), **63**: 6-7 (*a-na ¹BARA₂-mar a-la-ki¹-im*), and **206**: 5-6 (*a-na pī-tim ša BARA₂-mar* [(x)] il-li-ik-ma*).

40. **CUSAS 29 44**: 19 (*a-na BARA₂-mar ta-ra-di*) and **Letter 3**: 8-9 (*a-na pī-ti[m] ša BARA₂-mar ta-ra-di-im*).

41. Compare with URUDU as written in texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal): **CUSAS 8 25**: 21, **45**: 23, **57**: 10, **CUSAS 29 134**: 9, **195**: 10, **Sem 1278**: 49 (Földi, *WZKM* 104, 2014, p. 31-55), and **Letter 3**: 51. This sign was reduced to the minimum there.

42. For instance, compare with **Letter 1**: 10+38, **CUSAS 29 67**: 5, **73**: 7, and **173**: 25.

43. Compare with **CUSAS 29 50**: 6 and **55**: 8.

As A. George pointed out to me, BARA₂-*mar* is an alternative spelling of BARA₂-DUMU, a shrine of Ninurta so far only attested in Middle Babylonian and later texts. The latter interpreted its name in Sumerian, Bara-dumu, as meaning “Throne-Dais-of-the-Son(-of-Enlil).”⁴⁴ In a Neo-Assyrian source, the Sumerian name of this shrine is translated as *Parak-māri* in Akkadian,⁴⁵ but in the sources from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), the Sumerian word *dumu* is read *mār* in Akkadian. The use of the bound form (*mār* > *mārum*) in the texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) suggests that the shrine was originally called Parak-mār-Enlil, before being shortened to Parak-mār and then Parak-māri. It was probably an outdoor and modest cult-centre during the Late OB period, given that the word *parakkum* “throne-dais” was used to refer to small cultic places.⁴⁶ In addition, the name BARA₂-*mar* is never followed by the determinative ^{ki} in the texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), whereas all city names are. On the contrary, determinatives ^{ki} and ^{uru} are used in most attestations from later periods, showing that this cult-center had grown bigger and that a city had flourished around it. In the documentation from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) is so far only attested in texts dated from the reign of Ammi-ditana. It was most likely built during the reign of this king, or during the reign of his father, Abi-ešuh: i.e. more or less around the same time as Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), and at a time when Nippur was being abandoned and the cult of its patron deity, Ninurta, and of other gods, was progressively transferred to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal).⁴⁷

In several instances,⁴⁸ the shrine BARA₂-*mar* is preceded by the sequence *b/pītum ša*. This sequence is the direct object of the verb *šūburum* “to bring across (water)” in **Letter 3**. The verb *ebērum* always has a watercourse as direct object in Akkadian. The word *pītum* “opening, aperture” normally refers to a breach in a wall or in a dam. This word however seems to refer to a landscape feature here. In another OB letter (**ARM 3 57**: 14-15), a troop of soldiers is said to have crossed “the ford of Terqa” (*nēberam ša Terqa*). My guess is that the word *pītum* could have a similar meaning here. It might refer to a landscape feature opening the way through the waters, i.e. a place where the watercourse could be crossed. Another possibility would be to read *bītum* instead, which literally means “house, temple.” But this word does not make sense with the verb *šūburum* “to bring across (water).”

The shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) is attested in two corpora of texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), written between A-d 11 and A-d 15, and consisting of 29 texts.⁴⁹ In this limited set of texts, this shrine is attested 11 times. Such a high number of occurrences implies that it was a cult-center of some importance. Troops of conscripts were sent from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) to this shrine several times a year, at different times of the year.⁵⁰ When they did so, they were often escorting boats carrying barley.⁵¹ This grain was probably used for offerings to the god Ninurta. It is uncertain whether the grain was also intended for cultic personnel: because this cult-center was apparently quite small in size, I am not sure that cultic personnel were living there. Among the officials who are mentioned as going to this shrine, one finds different *mu'errum*-commanders leading the troops,⁵² but also a head of river district,⁵³ and an office-holder (*bēl tēretim*).⁵⁴ The office-holders (*šūt tēretim*)

44. George, OLA 40, Louvain, 1992, p. 447 (note to line 28').

45. *pa-rak ma-ri* (K 8382: ii 4). See: George, OLA 40, Louvain, 1992, p. 39.

46. On the meaning of the word *parakkum*, see: George, OLA 40, Louvain, 1992, p. 12.

47. On the relocation of the cults in Nippur to Dur-Abi-ešuh, see: Charpin (forthcoming).

48. CUSAS 29 53: 4, 57: 11, 206: 6, and **Letter 3**: 8+[15]+19+35+38.

49. In the corpus of expenditures of sheep CUSAS 29 44-65 (22 texts), and in the corpus of letters to Ammi-ditana (see Table 1, 7 texts).

50. 26/v/A-d 11 (CUSAS 29 44), 18/v/A-d 12 (CUSAS 29 53), 26/x/A-d 12 (CUSAS 29 56), 8/xi/A-d 12 (CUSAS 29 57), 22/-/A-d 12 (CUSAS 29 58), -/-/A-d 12 (CUSAS 29 59), 25/ii/A-d 13 (CUSAS 29 60), 6/v/A-d 13 (CUSAS 29 61), 4/xii/A-d 13 (CUSAS 29 63), 4/vi/A-d 15 (**Letter 3**), and 4²/iii/A-d - (CUSAS 29 206).

51. CUSAS 29 53: 1-9 (Month v) (for the reading MÁ ĩ*.[DUB], see the note by D. Charpin on Archibab: <<http://www.archibab.fr/T22892>>), 58: 1-8 (Month -), 60: 1-11 (Month ii), and 61: 8-14 (Month v).

52. **Letter 3**: 11+32, CUSAS 29 56: 3², 58: 3, 60: 4, 61: 9, and 206: 5.

53. CUSAS 29 57: 9.

54. CUSAS 29 57: 10. Note that Pihri-Amurum, a man from Nippur mentioned in **Letter 3**, was perhaps an office-holder too (see the comment to **Letter 3**: 14, 17, 33 & 36 above). On the reading of the title *bēl/šūt tēretim*, see: George, CUSAS 10, p. 144-145 and Charpin (forthcoming), §2.2.

mentioned in the letter **CUSAS 29 206**: 9 seem to come *from* that location,⁵⁵ which could be a clue that cultic personnel were living there.

According to Middle Babylonian sources, the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil) was located near Nippur and Marad.⁵⁶ A Late OB source (**CUSAS 29 60**) now reveals that it was located upstream of Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), and thus north of Nippur.⁵⁷ In **Letter 3**, men from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) and men from Dur-Sin-muballiṭ meet at this shrine: this implies that it was located more or less halfway between these two fortresses. Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) was located at the outlet of the canal Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši, and Dur-Sin-muballiṭ at the source of this canal. Finally, the boats going to Parak-mār(-Enlil), as well as the use of the verb *ebērum* in connection with it, imply that this shrine was located along a watercourse, or not far from it.

The aftermath of the attack on Nippur

The city of Nippur was attacked in Month xi of the year A-d 11 (1673 BCE), as revealed by the letter **CUSAS 29 205**. The three letters from UCLA published here now provide insight into the situation in central Babylonia some time after. **Letters 1-2** were written a few weeks after the attack, during the year A-d 12 (1672 BCE). **Letter 1** is damaged, which makes it difficult to understand precisely the events that are described in it. The beginning is well preserved: 300 liters of barley had been brought to Zibbat-narim to “complete the rations for the Month xii (of the year A-d 11).” This amount is unusually low: soldiers received an average of 60 liters of barley per month at that time,⁵⁸ which means that 300 liters could only feed five soldiers. But it is not impossible that many more soldiers had been dispatched to central Babylonia to deal with the recent attacks on Nippur, and that Zibbat-narim had run out of supplies –hence the need to complete the rations. In **Letter 1**, the senders continue their message by stating that 28 710 liters of barley had been brought for the first month of the following year (Month i/A-d 12). Based on the same ratio, these 28 710 liters could, in theory, feed 478 soldiers. In practice, it probably fed a little less soldiers, given that commanders and dignitaries (overseer of barbers, diviners...), who received more barley,⁵⁹ were certainly included in that amount. By comparison, another letter from King Ammi-ditana (**AbB 2 54**) states that soldiers and workers stationed at the fortress Kullizum were to receive 17 284 liters of barley during Month ix: this accounts for maximum 288 men.⁶⁰ The expenditure **JCSSS 2 19** [–/xii/A-d 21] shows that King Ammi-ditana wrote for the same reason at least one more time and, during Month xii/A-d 21, it is 5 163 liters of barley that soldiers and workers from Kullizum were given: this accounts for a maximum of 86 men. In **JCSSS 2 20**, the same troops from Kullizum are said to be given 23 666 liters of barley for Month ix/A-d 23: this could feed a maximum of 394 men. Thus, the high amount of barley attested in **Letter 1** (barley rations for more than 400 men) could be evidence of a time of trouble. The following part of this letter is partly damaged. There is still enough left to understand that 24 990 liters of barley had been sent to Zibbat-narim for the following month (Month ii/A-d 12), and yet the senders lament about the supplies for that month. They complain about not having barley for Month ii “with them” [l. 16] “in the city” [l. 24-26], i.e. in Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal). Barley had not yet been assigned to them [l. 21]. They also mention a shortage of flour and flour-based mixture [l. 22-23], and they claim that there is no more barley in the granary of Zibbat-narim [l. 26]. These men

55. The commander Sin-iddinam went to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil), and it seems that he met with other people there –including office-holders– before departing to Zibbat-narim. This group is maybe accompanied by two sacrificial slaughterers (NAM.2 SISKUR₂, **CUSAS 29 206**: 8), but the reading is uncertain.

56. Nashef, RGTC 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 215.

57. The boats are going upstream (*šaḡūm*) in **CUSAS 29 60**: 11.

58. Basic soldiers received on average 0,1.0 (= 60 liters) of barley per month. See Földi, WZKM 104, 2014, p. 44-45, to which can now be added **CUSAS 29 1**: 18, 2: 6, 12: 22, 18: 14, 19: 13, 30: 13, 33: 13, 34: 14, and 37: 10'. For some reason (when they had already received flour?), some soldiers only received half of this ration, i.e. 0,0.3 (= 30 liters) of barley (**CUSAS 29 5**: 7, 9: 15, 20: 15, 31: 14, and 39: 33').

59. See Földi's comment on the text **CUSAS 8 39** (WZKM 104, 2014, p. 45), and Charpin's comment on the diviners' ration (RA 112, 2018 p. 194 [§2.2.4.1]).

60. The text **JCSSS 2 18** [22/ix/A-d 19] records the reception of 180+50+8.4.[x ŠE GUR] given for the rations of troops stationed at Sippar-Yahrurum, i.e. more than 71 640 liters of barley, but these are, no doubt, the rations for several months. Richardson suggested that “the staffing and/or settlement of the Babylonian fortresses probably entailed relatively few men, probably not much more than a hundred each at a time” (Richardson, NABU 2019/21).

conclude their letter by asking the king where they can expect to receive barley for the troops' supplies. The fact that barley supplies for Month ii had not yet been given to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) on Month i Day 15 implies some serious issues in the administration of the kingdom.

Letter 2, written six months after Nippur was attacked (11/v/A-d 12), reveals that central Babylonia was still full of danger at that time, and events were not going as planned. Work in the fields around Zibbat-narim had been hindered by the disappearance of soldiers, and officials from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) were asking King Ammi-ditana for help. The twenty soldiers who are reported as missing in that letter were probably dead, or had fled. Other troops were certainly stationed at Zibbat-narim and Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), but they were probably scheduled for another duty, this is why officials from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) could not select from these troops to replace the missing soldiers.

Letter 3, written around the same time three years later (4/vi/A-d 15), shows that safety was still an issue, but the situation seems to have been less tense in central Babylonia. People travelling from one place to another had to be escorted by troops, and the enemy was still a threat for the flock. But food supplies and soldier losses were not at stake anymore. This is in line with the observation made by Gabbay and Boivin, who noticed that Babylon had been able to reaffirm its control in central Babylonia as early as A-d 16.⁶¹

Like in **CUSAS 29 205**, the enemy is unidentified in **Letter 2**: 27 and **Letter 3**: 44, and is simply referred to as *nakrum* (LÚ.KÚR) "the enemy." According to Gabbay and Boivin, "this enemy may not have been the Sealand kingdom. The period was volatile and other groups may have been involved, for instance Kassites or Elamites."⁶²

Barley management and the role of central government

Although the fields around the fortress Zibbat-narim were producing barley (**Letter 2**), these fields' harvest was not enough to feed all the soldiers stationed at that fortress. Part of the barley for the troops' rations had to be brought from Babylon, the capital city. This is stated in **Letter 1**, when the senders appeal to the king to get the barley rations for Month ii. The situation was the same at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), as revealed by several barley expenditures from that fortress, which contain the following formulas:⁶³

ŠE ša iš-tu KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} a-na re-eš ŠUKU um-ma-na-tim ù ERIN₂ a-hi-tim ku-ul-lim a-na BÀD-a-bi-e-šu-uh^{ki}
ša KUN ^hha-am-mu-ra-bi-nu-hu-uš-ni-ši ib-ba-ab-lam

Barley which was brought from Babylon to Dur-Abiešuh-at-the-outlet-of-the-canal-Hammu-rabi-nuhuš-niši to serve for the troops' and other workers' rations.⁶⁴

ŠE ^rša¹ <iš-tu> KÁ.DINGIR.[RA]^{ki} il-li-kam

Grain that came <from> Babylon.⁶⁵

The central government was sending specific quantities of barley to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal), based on specific rates⁶⁶ and on the number of soldiers on site.⁶⁷ If, for some reason, some soldiers were stationed somewhere else, clauses in the expenditures specify that their barley rations could not be given,⁶⁸ or was to be reimbursed to Babylon.⁶⁹ Such clauses imply that a precise accounting was established between the central

61. Gabbay & Boivin, ZA 108/1, 2018, p. 37.

62. ZA 108/1, 2018, p. 38 (note 38). See also the comment by Charpin (forthcoming), §2.1.

63. About this formula, see: Charpin, RA 112, 2018, p. 189-190.

64. **CUSAS 29 4, 6, 7, 8** (= **CUSAS 8 39**), **13**, and **14**.

65. **CUSAS 29 14**: 19.

66. See above note 58.

67. In the letter **AbB 2 54**, officials from Kullizum are said to have requested to King Ammi-ditana a specific amount of barley for the rations to be given to their troops in Month ix. The king wants this specific amount to be sent to them. On this aspect, see the comment by Richardson, JCSSS 2, Boston, 2010, p. 18.

68. "They swore by Marduk and (name of the king) not to have removed from the granary barley for soldiers who did not stay" **CUSAS 29 5**: 26-30, **30**: 3'-5', **31**: 21-23, **32**: 5'-7', **33**: 3'-5', **34**: 23-24, and **37**: 17'-19'. The recipients only swear when they are not allowed to take the surplus grain.

69. "They will reimburse to the palace the barley that they took from the granary for soldiers who did not stay." (**CUSAS 29 9**: 21-23, **12**: 26-27, **18**: 20-22, **19**: 19-21, and **20**: 22-23).

government and the Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) administration. In all likelihood, intendants from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) regularly reported to Babylon on the actual expenses of the fortress. The surplus of barley, i.e. rations of absent soldiers, was probably deducted from the next delivery of grain. When this surplus could not be deducted, because the barley had been given anyway, the fortress administration was indebted to the palace, and so required the military officers to pay back to the royal administration the surplus they had taken.

Administrative texts do not specify when the barley was brought from Babylon to Dur-Abi-ešuh. On the tablet, the scribes only specified the day when the barley was given to soldiers. In **Letter 1**, rations of several months are said to have been brought at once. This seems to be representative of standard administrative practices.⁷⁰

As outlined by Charpin, most of the barley brought to Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) was coming from neighboring territories, as part of the *biltum*-tax levied on royal fields.⁷¹ This is extremely interesting, since it shows that during the Late OB period at least a part of the taxes levied on royal lands were not centralized in the capital city, but were directly sent for the supply of nearest fortresses.

Soldiers and their activities

Soldiers of different origins were stationed at Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal). Földi, Abraham & Van Lerberghe, and recently Charpin, have enumerated the cities, regions and tribes these soldiers came from.⁷² To their lists can now be added, based on **Letter 3** published here, soldiers from the Sea(land)⁷³ and troops of prisoners.⁷⁴ People from the Sea(land) are mentioned in several other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal): in the expenditure **CUSAS 29 3**: 9-10 [A-e 14] (messengers), in the expenditure **Sem 1278**: 20+30⁷⁵ [A-e 28] (soldiers),⁷⁶ and in the letter **MS 3218/13**: 4-5 [A-d] (a refugee). The fact that, in **Letter 3**, the troop of soldiers from the Sea(land) is distinguished from the troop of conscripts and from the troop of prisoners reveals that these soldiers had not been assimilated to the ordinary conscripts, but were not considered prisoners either. Soldiers from the Sea(land) were probably, like many soldiers at that time, mercenaries.

As for the garnisons of Zibbat-narim: **Letter 2** reveals that soldiers from Dur-šarrim and Yankahu – two fortresses located north of Babylonia and west of the Tigris – were stationed at that fortress.⁷⁷

The soldiers' main duties were to protect the fortresses and neighboring territories, and to escort people and resources (boats loaded with grain, cattle) travelling from one place to another. But they were also called upon to perform agricultural work, such as winnowing the grain and picking up the chaff, as revealed by **Letter 2**. The letter **AbB 10 150**, sent by King Ammi-šaduqa (King Ammi-ditana's son), is another indication that soldiers could be called upon to pick up the chaff from the fields. According to that text, Sutean soldiers had been called upon to carry out this work: 20 ERIN₂ *ni-nu a-na ha-mi ka-ma-si-im/ni-il-li-ik-ma* "We, 20 soldiers, went to pick up the chaff" (l. 9-10).

Divination for a safe travel

Two expenditures of sheep from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) reveal that military officers sometimes solicited the diviner themselves, in order to make sure that a journey they were about to undertake was safe. The expenditure **CUSAS 29 63** records that, on the 4/xii/A-d 13, the commander Sin-nadin-šumi handled a sheep of his own to the diviner Lu-Iškur, in order to question the gods about the safety of a journey to shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). The journey

70. See notably **JCSSS 2 18** (above note 60) and **CUSAS 29 160**: 13.

71. See the text references in Charpin, *RA 112*, 2018, p. 189-190.

72. Földi, *WZKM 104*, 2014, p. 45-46; Abraham & Van Lerberghe, *CUSAS 29*, 2017, p. 7; Charpin, *RA 112*, 2018, p. 192-193.

73. **Letter 3**: 25.

74. **Letter 3**: 25+42.

75. Földi, *WZKM 104*, 2014, p. 54-55.

76. For the reading ERIN₂ *e-le* A.AB.BA and the translation "troops come up from the Sea(land)," see: Boivin, *SANER 20*, Boston/Berlin, 2018, p. 100.

77. **Letter 2**: 7+10+12+14+17+22+30 and **Letter 2**: 8+10+12+14+18+22+30.

was to be undertaken by a troop of conscripts and a man named Amunnum. This is not stated in that text, but Sin-nadin-šumi was involved in that journey too, as a military officer leading the troops. Indeed, several other texts show that he went to the same shrine on several occasions, as a commander (*mu'errum*) leading troops there.⁷⁸ In **Letter 3**, he is mentioned as an overseer of barbers (UGULA ŠU.I) told by King Ammi-ditana to send a commander there.⁷⁹

In **CUSAS 29 53**, it is Ibni-Sin (*ib-ni*-^d[EN*.ZU*]) who is said to have handled a sheep of its own to the diviner Etel-pi-Marduk, on the 18/v/A-d 12. Here again, the gods were questioned about the safety of a trip to the shrine Parak-mār(-Enlil). The involvement of Ibni-Sin in that journey is not stated, but he was surely involved: this man was a commander (*mu'errum*) and, like Sin-nadin-šumi, he went to the same shrine on several occasions over the years.⁸⁰

Both extispicies were favorable, meaning that the military officers could safely leave Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) with their troops. Had the extispicy been negative, they would have had to give another sheep to the same diviner, for a check-up examination (*piqittum*).⁸¹

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES MENTIONED IN LETTERS 1-3

- Gimil-i[li]: [chief accounta]nt (*šandabakkum*)?: *gi-mil*-D[INGIR GÁ[?].DUB[?]].B[A][?] (**Letter 1: 7**)
 Ibatum: Kassite soldier; carried **Letter 2** to King Ammi-ditana: GÌR *ib-na-tum ka-aš-ši-i* (**Letter 2: 37**)
 Ibni-Sin: commander (*mu'errum*); attested in other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (see the comments to **Letter 2**): ¹*ib-ni*-^dEN.ZUGAL.UKKIN.NA (**Letter 3: 32+41**)
 Ina-palešu: general (*wakil amurrim*) in charge of soldiers from Dur-šarrim; attested in other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (see the comments to **Letter 2**): ERIN₂ BÀD.LUGAL^{ki} NÌ.ŠU *i-na-pa-le-šu* (**Letter 2: 7**); *i-na-pa-le-šu* UGULA MAR.TU ša ERIN₂ BÀD.LUGAL^{ki} (**Letter 2: 17**)
 Ipqu-Nabium: barber: *ip-qú*-^d*na-bi-um* ŠU.I (**Letter 1: 25**)
 mār Ištar-belti: Turukkean soldier; carried **Letter 3** to King Ammi-ditana: GÌR DUMU ^dINANNA-*be-el-ti*-¹ŠÀ ERIN₂ *tu-ru-kum* (**Letter 3: 47-48**)
 Muti-wasi: general (*wakil amurrim*) in charge of soldiers from Yankahu: ERIN₂ *ia-an-ka-hu*^{ki} NÌ.ŠU *mu-ti-wa-si* (**Letter 2: 8**); *mu-ti-wa-si* UGULA MAR.TU ša ERIN₂ *ia-an-ka-hu*^{ki} (**Letter 2: 18**)
 Nabium-bel-zeri: soldier belonging to the troops under the supervision of Šu-ilišu: ^(d)*na-bi-um-be-el*-NUMUN ŠÀ ERIN₂ NÌ.ŠU *šu-i-lí-šu* (**Letter 3: 13+18+34**); ^d*na-bi-um-be-el-ze-ri* ŠÀ ERIN₂ NÌ.ŠU *šu-i-lí-šu* (**Letter 3: 37**)
 Nergal-nišu: soldier from Maškan-šapir; carried **Letter 1** to King Ammi-ditana: GÌR ^dNĒ.ERI₁₁.GAL-*ni-šu* ŠÀ ERIN₂ MAŠ.K[ÁN.ŠABRA^{ki}] (**Letter 1: 37**)
 Pirhi-Amurrim: a man from Nippur; office-holder?: ^(d)*pir-hi*-^dMAR.TU LÚ EN.LÍL^{ki} (**Letter 3: 14+[17]+33+36**)
 Sin-nadin-šumi: overseer of barbers (*wakil gallābī*); attested in other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (see the comments to **Letter 3**): ^(d)EN.ZU-*na-di-in-šu-mi* UGULA ŠU.I (**Letter 3: 7+29**)
 Šu-ilišu: general (*wakil amurrim*); attested in other texts from Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal) (see the comments to **Letter 3**): ERIN₂ NÌ.ŠU *šu-i-lí-šu* (**Letter 3: 13+18+34+37**).

NAMES OF PLACES AND PEOPLE IN LETTERS 1-3

- Babylon: KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} (**Letter 2: 19**)
 Dur-Abi-ešuh^(canal): *a-lim* (**Letter 1: [20]+24**); URU^{ki} (**Letter 1: 4, Letter 2: 4, and Letter 3: 4**)
 Dur-Sin-muballit: BÀD.^dEN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí*-^{ki} (**Letter 3: 21+40**)
 Dur-šarrim: BÀD.LUGAL^{ki} (**Letter 2: 7+10+12+14+17+22+30**)
 Elam: ELAM.MA (**Letter 3: 25**)
 Kaššû: *ka-aš-ši-i* (**Letter 2: 37**)
 Maškan-šapir: MAŠ.K[ÁN.ŠABRA^{ki}] (**Letter 1: 37**)
 (Māt) tâmti “Sea(land)”: A.AB.BA (**Letter 3: 25**)

78. In the expenditure **CUSAS 29 58: 3** [22/-/A-d 12], and in the expenditure **CUSAS 29 61: 9** [6/v/A-d 13].

79. **Letter 3** [4/vi/A-d 15].

80. See the expenditure **CUSAS 29 60: 4** [25/ii/A-d 13], and **Letter 3: 32+41** [4/vi/A-d 15].

81. On this aspect, see: Charpin, *NABU* 1994/4 and Charpin, *NABU* 2013/82.

Nippur: EN.LÍL^{ki} (**Letter 3**: 14+[17]+33+36)
 Parak-mār(-Enlil) “Throne-Dais-of-the-Son(-of-Enlil)”: BARA₂-mar (**Letter 3**: 8+[15]+19+35+38)
 Sutû: *su-ti-i* (**Letter 3**: 12+17+33+36)
 Turukkum: *tu-ru-kum* (**Letter 3**: 48)
 Yankahu (= Yankiha): *ia-an-ka-hu^{ki}* (**Letter 2**: 8+10+12+14+18+22+30)
 Zibbat-narim: KUN.I₇.DA^{ki} (**Letter 1**: 8+26, **Letter 2**: 5+32).

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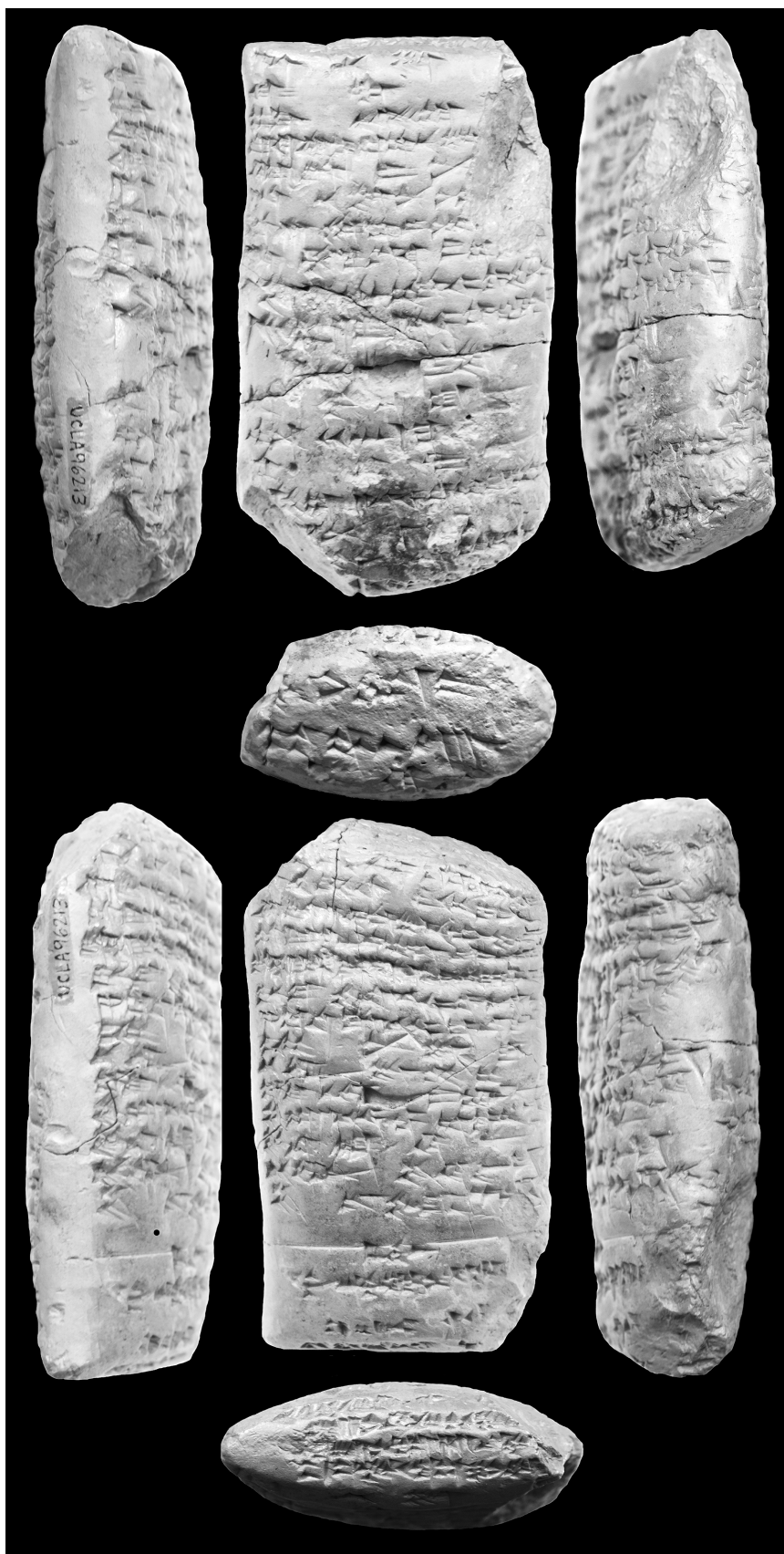
ABSTRACT

In this article are published three copies of letters addressed to King Ammi-ditana of Babylon. Discovered in Dur-Abi-ešuh during illicit excavations, these texts are now kept in the Cotsen (Lloyd E.) Cuneiform Tablets Collection at UCLA (Los Angeles). They provide us with valuable information on military activities, the management of agricultural resources, and religious life in central Babylonia during the Late Old Babylonian period.

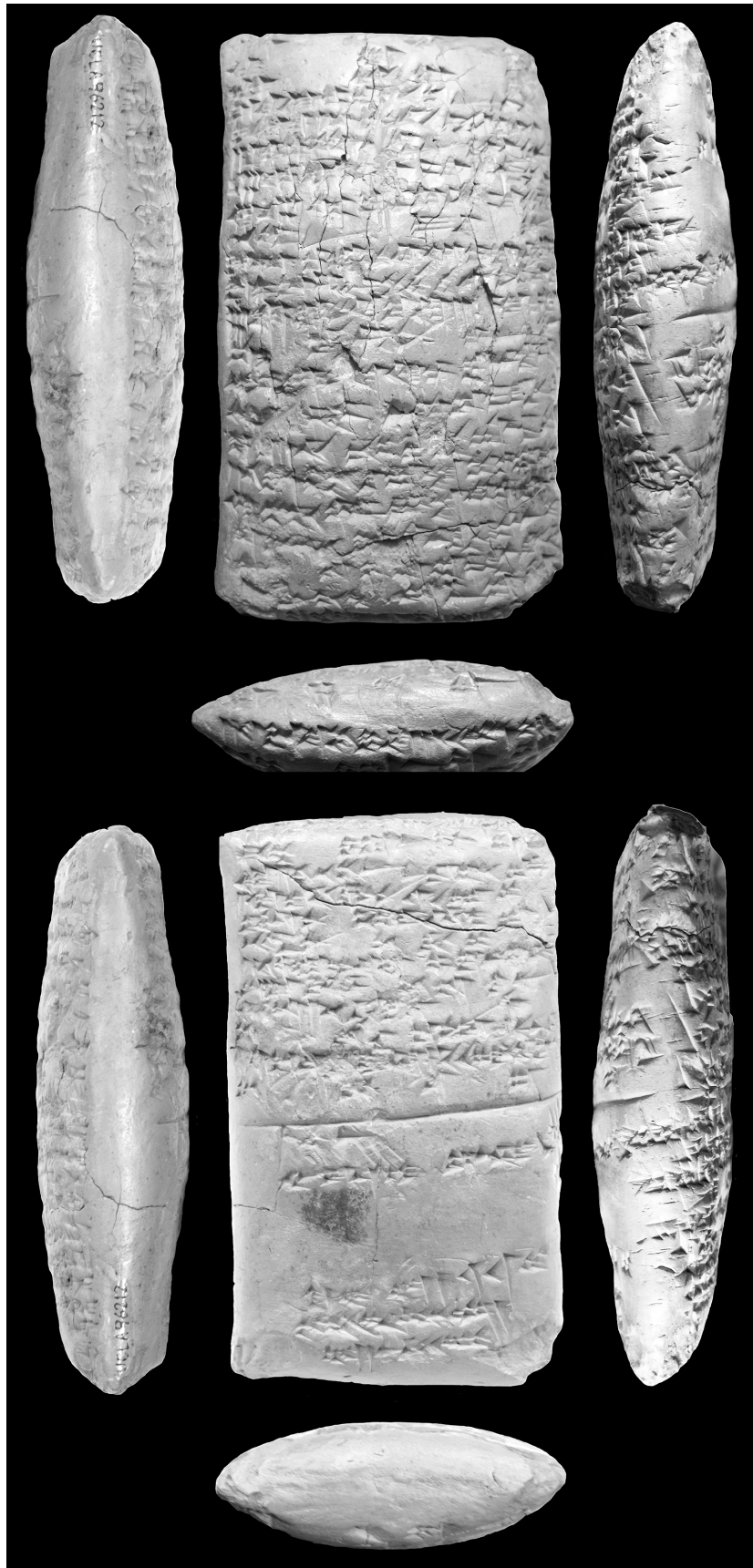
RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article sont publiées trois copies de lettres adressées au roi de Babylone Ammi-ditana. Découvertes à Dur-Abi-ešuh au cours de fouilles clandestines, ces textes se trouvent désormais dans la Cotsen (Lloyd E.) Cuneiform Tablets Collection, à UCLA (Los Angeles). Ils fournissent des informations précieuses sur les activités militaires, sur la gestion des ressources agricoles et sur la vie religieuse en Babylonie centrale pendant la période paléo-babylonienne tardive.

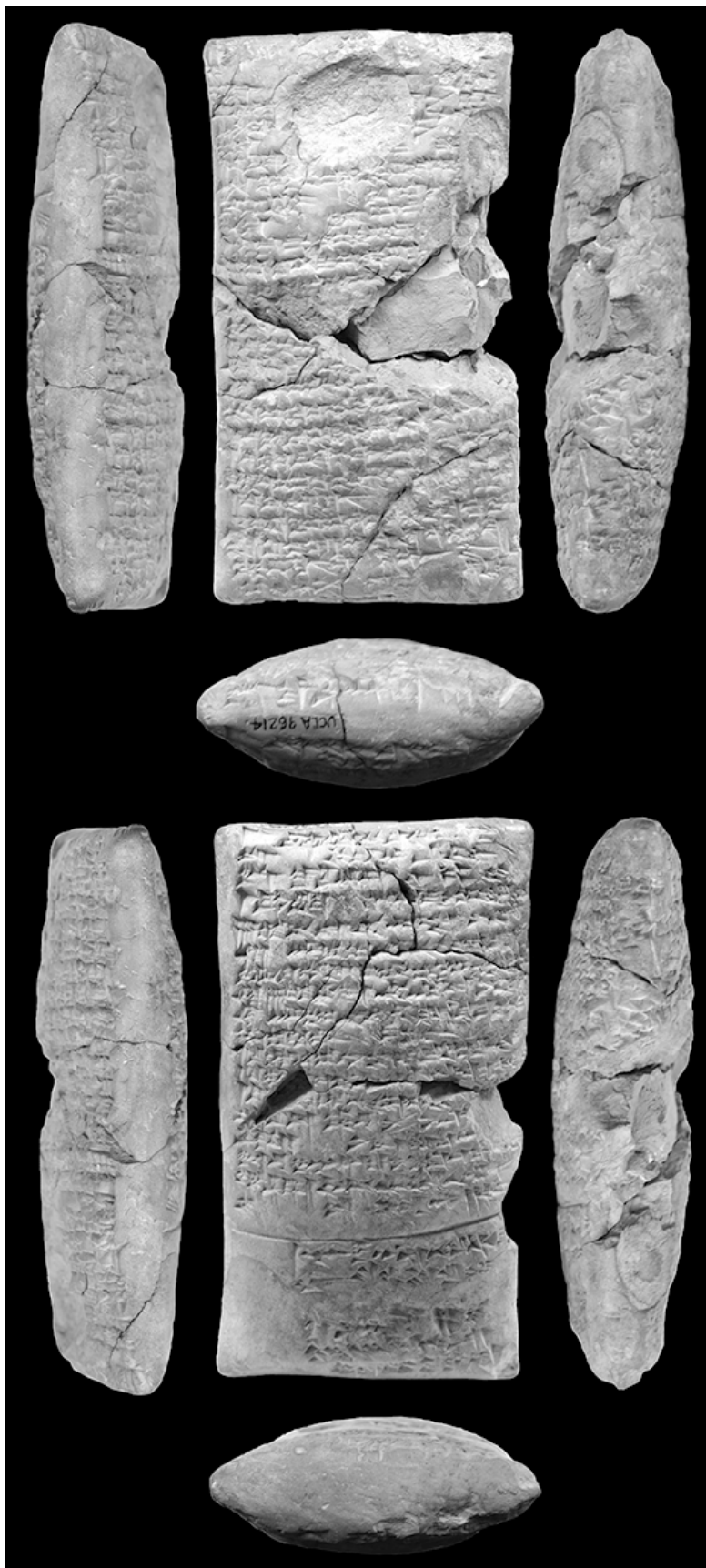
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